2002.e.22.

REFLECTIONS UPON LEARNING,

Wherein is ſhewn the

INSUFFICIENCY

Thereof, in its ſeveral Particulars.

In order to evince the

Uſefulneſs and *Neceſſity*

OF

REVELATION.

By a GENTLEMAN.

LONDON,

Printed for A. BOSVILE, at the Dial againſt St. *Dunſtan*'s Church in *Fleet-ſtreet*. MDCC.

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PREFACE.

A *Work of this nature, that would ſo hardly find a Patron, will ſtand the more in need of a Preface*; *Men that write in commendation of Learning, uſually ſeek out ſome great* Genius *to prefix to their Book, whom they make an inſtance of all the Learning and Perfections that are deſcribed in it*; *were I to chuſe a Patron, conſiſtently with my deſign, I muſt Compliment him with the weakneſs of his Parts and ſhortneſs of his Underſtanding, which is ſuch a Compliment, as I preſume ſhall willingly be excus'd from. But then a Preface will be the more ne-*

NOTE

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neceſſary to give an account of m
undertaking, which is rather to en
quire into the abuſes, and to ſho
the inefficiency of Humane Learning
than wholly to deſcredit its uſe. N
Man ever did this, without diſpa
raging his own Underſtanding, n
decry'd Learning but for want of it
it having been an old Obſervation
that will hold perpetually, Thi
Knowledge has no Enemies excep
the Ignorant. An attempt of th
nature would be utterlly impract
cable, for either it would be we
perform'd, and then it muſt be do
by reaſons borrow'd from the Ston
of Learning, by which means
reaſoning againſt Learning, we m
at the ſame time reaſon for it, a
all our Arguments muſt return upo
us; or if the performance were n
learned, it would be to no purpo
and might as well be let alone. In
then is no part of my deſign.

All that I intend, is, to take it down from its ſuppos'd heights, by expoſing the vanity of it in ſeveral particulars, its Inſufficiency in the Neſt, and I believe I might ſay, its difficulties, in all: And there is be more need of this in an Age, in which it ſeems to be too much magnifi'd, and where Men are fond of Learning almoſt to the loſs of Religion. Learning is our great Diana, *nothing will paſs with our Men of Wit and Senſe, but what is agreeable with the niceſt Reaſon, and every Man's Reaſon is his own Underſtanding: For if you examine them to the bottom, theſe mighty Pretenders have no truer grounds to go upon than other Men, only they aſſert a liberty of judging according to themſelves, and (if they could be allow'd it) of making their own judgment a Standard of others. They read for right Reaſon, but they mean their own, and talk of a rea-*

ſonable Religion, whilſt their own
falſe Notions are miſtaken for it:
and while they ſeek the Goddeſs
they embrace a Cloud. In the mean
time, they take us of from our ſure
Guide, Religion ſuffers by their Con
tentions about it, and we are in dan
ger of runing into Natural Reli
gion..

Where theſe things will end, God
only knows, it is to be ſuſpected
they may at laſt end in the thing we
fear, and may bring us about to the
Religion, for which of all others
we have the moſt abhorance: For
after Men have try'd the force of
natural Reaſon in matters of Relig
on, they will ſoon be ſenſible of its
weakneſs, and after they have run
themſelves out of breath and can ar
tre no where, they will be glad of
any hold where they think they can
find it, and rather than be alwa
wandring, they will take up with
Intallible Guide. I am unwilling

ain such hard Thoughts of a Neigh-
ouring Church, as to think they are
wing Discord among us to that pur-
ose, but I much fear, we are doing
heir Work for them, and by our own
Divisions, are making way for a
lind Faith, and Implicit Obedi-
nce; *And may it never be said,*
hat as Learning was one great In-
rument under God, to bring about
Reformation, so the Abuse of it, by
he Divine Permission, has brought us
ack to the same place from whence we
ame, and that our Enemies have
one that by secret Engines, and Do-
estic Distractions, which by open
ttempts they were never able to do.
t is the sense of such Dangers and
uch Abuses that has drawn from me
hese Reflections, and has inclin'd
ne to harder Thoughts, and possibly,
o say, harsher things of some parts
f Learning, than will be agreeable
o the Humor of the Age, and yet if
ny one who thinks thus of me, will

only ſuſpend his Cenſure ſo long, th
I draw my Concluſion, I am willin
to hope, that the goodneſs of the E
will atone for the hardeſt thing
that ſhall be ſaid in the Book. b

I am ſure I am not ſingular in th
Deſign, one of the firſt Reſtorers
Letters, (a) A Man noted ſ
Piety as well as Parts, has writ
Book to this purpoſe, but it havi
been principally levell'd againſt A
ſtotle's Philoſophy, which is now
much out of Credit, that it rat
wants an Advocate to defend it, th
a new Adverſary to run it down, th
Book it ſelf is as much out of uſe, y
the Philoſophy is, that it deſigns
decry. He was follow'd in his D
ſign by Lodovicus Vives (b) in bu
ter Latin, and with greater Eloquen
but Vives's main Talent having b
in Philology, and having been l
converſant in Philoſophical Matte
his Book is both very defective as

(a) Pic. Mirand. Exam. Van. Doct. Gent. Op. vol. 2. p. 467.

(b) De Corrupt. Art. Op. vol. 1. p. 121.

t

the Particulars it treats of, and be-
lling ſuited to the Ancient Literature,
E is leſs agreeable to the Genius of our
ng Age. What Cornelius Agrippa(c) has writ upon this Subject is chiefly
the declamatory, and fitter for School-
rs Boys, than of any juſt Moment or
deration in a ſerious Enquiry.
ri And a French Book (d) lately pub-
vilish'd upon the ſame Subject and with
A the ſame Title, tho' well and piouſly
w Writ, yet has nothing in it of what
tll expected, and is rather a Sermon,
th than a Treatiſe of Science. None of
, theſe Authors, nor any other I have
, yet met with, have come up full to
ns my purpoſe, nor have I been able to
borrow much help from them;
bwhere I have, I have quoted them,
enand if in any other things we hap-
been to agree, without remembring
them, it is a fault of Memory, and I
temake this acknowledgement once for
all.

(c) De van Scient.

(d) La vanite des Sciences, Amſ. 88.

t

Sir

Sir W. Temple, *and Mr.* Wooton, *have turn'd their Pens the other way, and have been ſo much taken up with deſcribing the Beauties and Excellencies of Learning, as to have leſs occaſion to diſcover its Faults; tho' it was ſcarce poſſible whilſt they croſs'd one another's Opinion, either to commend Ancient Learning, without entring into the Defects of the Modern, or to prefer the Moderns, without cenſuring the Ancients; ſo that by conſequence tho' not profeſſedly, they have fal'n into this Controverſy. I have, as far as poſſible, avoided ſaying any thing that has been obſerv'd by them already (tho perhaps this may be thought my fault, and I may thereby have ſaid worſe things of my own) and if in any other things I have contradicted them, I have done it in ſo tender a manner, as neither of them could blame, were they yet both Living. I have treated all Men with Decency and*

nd Reſpect, except Monſ. Le Clerc, who has not deſerv'd ſuch Treatment. have ſeen little of Monſieur Perault, and a conſiderable part both of his and Mr. Wootton's Books, come not within my Account of Learning; for I have nothing to ſay to Sculpture, Painting, Architecture, Gardening, Agriculture, &c. which I take to be more properly of Mechanical Conſideration: But if Learned Men will needs include theſe likewiſe within the compaſs of Learning, it hall give me no diſturbance: The Bounds of Learning are of late wonderfully enlarg'd, and for ought I know, Mr. H's Trade Papers may paſs in time for a Volume of Learning.

Not that there is any need of ſwelling the Account, for Learning is already become ſo Voluminous, that it begins to ſink under its own weight; Books crowd in daily and are heap'd upon Books, and by the Multitude of them,

them, both distract our Minds, and discourage our Endeavors. Those that have been writ upon Aristotle are almost innumerable; In a very few Centuries, from Albertus Magnus, till a short time after Luther there have been Twelve Thousand Authors, that have either Commented upon his Books, or follow'd him in his Opinions: This we have from good Authority, tho' the Author that reports and censures it, had sure forgot, that he himself has strengthen'd the Objection, by publishing a gross Volume, only to give an Account of Aristotle, his Writings, and Followers. (e) But however their Number may be in the Old Philosophy, I believe we may reckon by a modest Computation, that since that time to ours, we may have had double the Number of Authors in the New which tho' some may look upon as an Argument of Learned Times; for my part

(e) V. Fr. Patric. Discus. Peripat. l. 10. p. 145 Bas. Fol.

art I have quite different Thoughts of Things, and must needs esteem it the great Mischief of the Age we live in, and cannot but think we should have more Learning, had we fewer Books.

I have notwithstanding adventur'd to throw in one to the Account, but it is a very small one, and writ with an honest design of lessening the Number: I propose neither Credit nor Advantage, (for I hope to take effectual care to be in the Dark) if I may do some little Service to Religion, and no Disservice to Learning, I have my End. I am enclined to hope, the Treatise may be of some use, as an Historical Account, in observing the Defects, and marking the Faults that are to be avoided by Beginners, and, possibly, it may afford some Hints to Wiser Men As it is, I offer it to the Public, if it proves useful, I shall

have

have much Satisfaction in my S
and if otherwise, I shall be ve
willing to be made a fresh Instan
of that which I pretend to prov
The Weakness of Humane U
derstanding.

CON

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The

The Author being ſome diſtance from
Preſs, ſome Errata *have happened, w*
the Reader is deſired to correct as fo
viz.

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ADDENDA.

P. 83. *According to Mr.* W. *I ſhould have attri*
Motion to the Earth.

P. 155. *I would only be underſtood to mean, tha*
Digeſt and Inſtitutes were finiſh'd in three Years.

As to other miſtakes, I muſt beſpeak as much Candor
the Reader, as he can afford to one, that has been pretty
in cenſuring faults.

REFLECTIONS
UPON
LEARNING, &c.

CHAP. I.

SInce I firſt begun to think, I have always had a mean opinion of two things, Humane Underſtanding, and Humane Will; The weakneſs of the is a confeſſed thing; we all of el it, and moſt men complain , but I have ſcarce yet met any, that would own the weak- of his Underſtanding: And yet both ſpring from the ſame corrupt tain; and the ſame cauſe, that R lerived Contagion upon the Will, pread Darkneſs upon the Under-

ſtanding; and however men may plea
themſelves with an opinion of the
own Wiſdom, it is plain, the wiſe
Men know little, and they that a
fulleſt of themſelves and boaſt t
higheſt, do uſually ſee leaſt, and a
only wiſe for want of thinking.

We have had a mighty Controv
ſie of late betwixt the Old and Ne
Philoſophers, and great inquiry h
been made, whether the preferenc
to be given to the Ancient or M
dern Learning; For my part I w
not venture to engage in ſo warm
Controverſie, but 'tis ſome argum
to me, that we have not over mu
of the thing, otherwiſe we ſhould kn
better where to find it, and if I wo
ſay any thing I ſhould be of opin
that neither ſide has reaſon to bo
What the wiſdom of the Ancie
was, is not ſo eaſily known at
diſtance, by thoſe Specimens o
that are left us, it does not app
to have had any thing in it very
traordinary, or which might not
attained to by their Poſterity with
ſtanding upon their Shoulders; H
not ſome dark and oracular exp
ſions been eſteemed enough to en
a Man to the Reputation of Wiſd

nd was not any odd and some-
mes extravagant opinion, if ſubtile-
maintained, ſufficient to ſet a Man
the Head of a Party, and make him
e Author of a Sect of Philoſophers?
he moſt Antient Philoſophy was uſu-
ly wrapt up and involv'd in Sym-
ls and Numbers, which as far as
ey can be explained, do not contain
y thing very myſterious, but it was
e intereſt of theſe Great Men to
ep a diſtance and be always in the
ouds, that they might be thought
ofound and procure a veneration by
e obſcurity of their Writings. They
t have writ more plainly, have (at
ſt ſome of them) been plain to an
jection, and have ſaid little more,
n what good Sence improv'd by
ſervation and thought, would ſug-
t to moſt men without reading;
ſay nothing here of the vaſt vari-
of opinions amongſt them, which
ll fall in more properly in the thread
my Diſcourſe; they did not agree
the firſt *Criterions* of Truth, which
y have made as many and as diffe-
t, as could poſſibly be thought of
carri'd their differences ſo far, that
ut the *Scepticks* pretty early upon
hting of every thing, and at laſt

brought them to deny, that th
was any such thing as Truth in
World.

The moderns have not yet gon
far, but they have made some ad
ces, and seem by pretty easie co
quences to be leading us towards
For since *Aristotle*'s Philosophy has b
exploded in the Scholes, under wh
we had more peace, and possi
almost as much Truth as we have
since, we have not been able to
any where, but have been waved
from one opinion to another.
Platonic Philosophy was first intro
ced with the Greek Learning, i
wonderfully obtain'd for some ti
among the men of polite Letters; w
however Divine it might seem
first, and for that reason was er
tain'd more favourably, it was fo
upon a short tryal to lead to He
and so went of again under a Cl
The moderns were now wise enoug
set up for themselves, and were
pleas'd with their own invent
than with the dry Systems of th
Philosophers. Several attempts W
made unsuccessfully, nor had the
out long or done much, till they w
run themselves into such a maze,

4. *Des Cartes* thought it neceſſary to
t down and doubt, whether they
ere not all out of the way: His
oubts increaſed upon him by doubt-
g, and he muſt have continu'd under
em, had he not by a ſtrange turn of
ought, ſtruck evidence out of uncer-
inty; for he found ſuch ſtrength and
nviction in doubting, that he brings
Argument from it to prove a firſt
ruth, The reality of his own Exi-
nce: He likewiſe borrowed great
hts from *Ideas*, which have been
ce improv'd, by comparing their
reement and diſagreement with one
other, and with the Reality of
ings; and ſince that conformity
s not been evident enough, we
ve been conſulting the *Divine Ideal World*, to fetch thence more
erfect *Ideas*, and are at laſt come to
all things in God; A way, which
uld it be as eaſily made out, as it
aſſerted, I do not ſee, what we
uld deſire further, for we ſhall hard-
ſee more clearly in a ſtate of Glory:
t all theſe particulars we ſhall meet
th, as we go along.

What has been ſaid of Philoſophy,
true in other ſorts of Learning and
wever we may be puff'd up with

vain conceits, and may flatter
ſelves with diſcoveries of *New Worl*
Learning, and fancy there is little
from the profound Search and accu
Enquiries of ſo learned an Age, to
it ſeems we are yet much in the d
that many of our diſcoveries are pu
imaginary, and that the State of Le
ing is ſo far from perfection, m
more from being the Subject of O
tation, That it ought to teach us
deſty and keep us humble. To
end, I propoſe to trace it in its ſi
ral Branches; and were the mant
ment of my Argument anſwerabl
the truth of it, I ſhould not doub
giving ſatisfaction to impartial Rea

C H

CHAP. II.

Of Languages.

LAnguages being the Chanels by which moſt of our Learning is convey'd, it is neceſſary to the attaining of Knowledge, that theſe ſhould be kept clear and open; if the Streams in theſe run muddy, or are corrupted, all the knowledge that is conveyed by them, muſt be obſcure: words but at the beſt are no very certain ſigns of things, they are lyable to ambiguity, and under that ambiguity are often ſubject to very different meanings; and tho this as far as it is the common condition of Speech muſt be ſubmitted to, and is no objection in plain Laws and eaſie Precepts, that are intelligible enough in any Language, yet in matters of Science, it is much otherwiſe; theſe are nice things; the ſtrict meaning is to be obſerv'd in them; nor can we miſtake a word without loſing the Notion.

The firſt Language, the *Hebrew*, was very plain and ſimple, (a good Argu-

ment of its being an Original) con
ſting of few Roots, and thoſe ve
ſimple and uncompounded; it ſeem
fitted for the purpoſes, for which
was deſign'd, which was not ſo mu
to improve Men's knowledge, as
better their lives, and this end it d
perfectly anſwer: Indeed the Ancie
Tongues are generally the moſt u
compounded and conſequently mo
plain and eaſie; but then whilſt thin
continue thus, as Languages we
eaſie, ſo they were defective, and the
fore as from neceſſity Men were p
upon improving Speech; ſo particul
ly as Arts increaſed, Languages gre
up with them, and Men were p
upon coining new words to expr
the new Ideas they had of thin
This has enlarg'd the Bounds of La
guage, and ſwoln it to ſuch a heiga
that its Redundancy is now a gr
ter Inconvenience, than the defecti
neſs of it was before.

The inconveniences from Langa
ges are chiefly two, Firſt, Their V
riety, and Secondly, their mutab
ty. 1. Were there only one Langua
in the World, Learning would
a much eaſier thing, than it now
Men might then immediately ap

cono things, whereas now a great
veart of our time is ſpent in words,
ſeend that with ſo little advantage,
chhat we often blunt the edge of our
munderſtanding, by dealing with ſuch
asough and unpleaſant tools: For how-
it over apt Men may be to over-value
ncieae Tongues, and to think they have
t uade a conſiderable progreſs in Learn-
mog, when they have once over-come
hineſe, yet in reality there is no internal
worth in them, and Men may un-
herſtand a thouſand Languages with-
e pt being the wiſer, unleſs they at-
culnd to the things, that they deliver:
gre is in order to this that they are to
p learnt, and it is the hard condition
xpr Learning, that in this reſpect, it
ninnnot be without them; This labour
Lauſt neceſſarily be devour'd in our
eigay to Knowledge, and every Man
gruſt dig in this Mine, that hopes to
ćti Maſter of the Treaſure, it conceals;
uch droſs is to be ſeparated, and
ngary difficulties to be overcome.

ir When I ſpeak of the variety of
ta languages, I do not mean that all
gua them are neceſſary, at leaſt not to
ld ſorts of Learning, were this our
w ſe, we could have few compleat
pholars; but tho all of them be not
neceſ-

neceſſary, yet ſome of them ar
lowed to be ſo, particularly ſuch a
ſtyl'd, Learned; and there is ſu
connexion among moſt Tongues o
ſame kind, that it is hard to exc
any one, without ſome tolerable
in the reſt. This is pretty plain in
Greek and Latin, and the reaſo
clear in the Eaſtern Tongues, w
the affinity is greater. Two of
Languages that in their different k
pretend to moſt Learning, (I do
here inquire, how truly) are the
bic and *Greek*, and it happens not
that theſe two are the moſt cop
and difficult. They that have
(*a*) in the firſt aſſure us, that i
bounds in Synonymous Words,
it has five hundred words for a L
and almoſt a thouſand for a Sw
which are enough to make an i
Language, and almoſt as many a
the *Radicals* in the *Hebrew* Ton
And as for the *Greek*, which is
conteſtedly Learned, moſt know, c
copious it is, for tho its *Radicals*
not ſo many as might be imagi
which ſome have computed not
to exceed three thouſand, (*b*) yet
is abundantly made up in its Coſſ
ſitions, and however ſimple it ma

(*a*) *W. walt. Prolg.* 14. §. 6.

(*b*) *Wilk. R. Ck. cap. iii.*

in its *Roots*, it ſpreads very widely in its Branches: If we add to this, its many different dialects, and all the various Inflections of Nouns and Verbs, which diverſify words, and diſtinguiſh them from themſelves, this will ſwell the account much higher, and make it almoſt an Infinite thing. So that what from the variety of Languages, and the *Copia* of thoſe that are reputed Learned, one great obſtruction lies in the way of Learning.

The other inconvenience is from their mutability, for whatever their number may be, yet were their nature fix'd and their condition ſtated, the meaſures that are taken from them might be more ſteddy; but when to the multitude of them, we add their mutability, we are ſtill under greater difficulties. Words like other things are ſubject to the common Fate of viciſſitude and change; they are always in a Flux, ebbing and flowing, and have ſcarce any fixed period; for being govern'd by Cuſtom, which it ſelf depends upon one of the moſt unconſtant of things in the World, the humour of the People, it is ſcarce poſſible it ſhould be otherwiſe: no Prince ever gave Laws to theſe, *Cæſar* who gave

Laws

Laws to *Rome*, could give none to
Language, and it was lookt upon
the height of flattery in that Sycopha
that offer'd to Complement him wi
ſuch an extravagant Power; in t
Cuſtom is only abſolute. We
ſcarce have a better inſtance of th
than in the Tongue we are now ſpea
ing of, the Latin; that Language th
was ſpoke ſoon after the Foundati
of *Rome*, was perfectly unintelligi
in the Age of *Auguſtus*; nay, ſo
hundred years after that period, a
not 150, before *Cicero*'s time, t
Tongue that was then vulgar, c
hardly now be underſtood withou
Comment. This is evident from th
Inſcription on the *Columna Roſtra*
that is yet in being, and a Copy i
which has been given us by Bill
Walton (*c*). In *Cicero*'s Age, th
Tongue was in its full height, it h
been growing up till then, ever af
it was declining, and had only
ſhort Stage of Perfection. They t
came after were obſerv'd to wr
with ſome mixture, even *Livy* h
his *Patavinity*, which is moſt pro
bly underſtood of a tincture from
Country Education.

(*c*) *Proleg. p.* 5.

Succeſſively on, they were more corrupt, *Paterculus*, *Seneca*, &c. ſtill writ with a greater mixture, till at laſt either by mixing with foreign Nations, in ſending Colonies, or by the breaking in of Barbarous People upon them, the Language ſunk into decay and became utterly Barbarous.

The Greek Tongue had the ſame fortune with the Latine, tho it continu'd vulgar longer; for as *Greece* did aſſiſt the *Romans* in giving perfection to their Speech, (they having not begun to cultivate Arts or poliſh their Language, till they had ſubdu'd *Greece*) ſo they receiv'd a great tincture and corruption from their Conquerors, either firſt, when they became an acceſſion to their Empire, as appears from thoſe that writ in that Tongue after the reduction of *Greece*; or after, when the Empire was tranſlated to *Conſtantinople*, and what City became new *Rome*, and the Seat of Empire. From that time, the Greek ſunk apace, as muſt needs be expected, where the Latin was the Court Language, and made uſe of in their Laws and Courts of Judicature, and the Greek in a manner confin'd

to

to the vulgar. In *Justinian*'s tim
who was not very long after *Consta*
tine, it is plain, it was much corru
ted, as is evident, from the *Acts* a
the *Councels* of these times, and t
Acclamations of the People and Cl
gy on such occasions, Instances where
are given by *Du Fresne*, in his Lea
ed Preface to his *Greek Glossary* (
(d) §. 7. As we descend lower the corrup
on is greater, as is shown by t
same Learned Person: The reducti
of *Constantinople* by the *Frank's* w
one other great blow, the last a
fatal stroke was given by that D
luge of Barbarism, in the Inund
tion of the *Turks*, who bore down
before them. What the condition
it now is, may be seen in *Cruliu*
(e) whence will appear not only t
(e) *Turco-gr.* p. 99. 224, &c. present corrupt State of that Tongu
but also the Reasons from which it pr
ceeds, either from the mixture of t
Latin, the *Turco-Arabic*, and oth
foreign Tongues; or by dividing wor
that should be conjoyn'd, or runni
two words into one that should be d
vided, or by other faults in *Orthogr*
phy, that is now in great neglect amor
them. And what is most melancho
in the account, is, That even at *Athe*
th

at was once Renoun'd for Learning
nd Eloquence, their Tongue is now
ore corrupt and barbarous, than in
y other part of *Greece*; to that de-
ee, as is there taken notice of, that
would draw tears from any one to
ſerve (*f*) the miſerable change. (*f*) 16. *P.* 99.
all parts of *Greece*, their Speech is
far degenerated from its ancient pu-
y, that as a Learned Greek cannot
roughly underſtand the modern vul-
r Tongue, much leſs is the Ancient
reek underſtood by the moderns.

Now under this great multiplicity,
well as change, what difficulties
e we to ſtruggle with, and what un-
rtainties are to be over-come? Our
ords are ſo many and ſo uncertain,
at there is both great difficulty in
coming Maſters of them, and after
at in fixing and determining their
nſe: We are to trace them up to
eir firſt Originals, and afterwards to
rſue them down to their laſt Decay,
mark their ſeveral times and peri-
ls, in all which they much vary,
d are often capable of different mean-
gs, or their true meaning is very ob-
ure. There is only one way of
oming at their meaning, after they
ecome dead Languages and ceaſe to

be

be vulgar, by the Books that have
writ in them; but beſides the
we are in of ſome of theſe, and
fects in thoſe we have, tho they m
ſerve well enough for common
and uſes, yet the things we are
enquiring after, are matters of *Sci*
which are abſtruſe things, and n
caſie to be expreſt in ſuch proper te
as are not liable to be miſ-underſto
Such particularly are Terms of
that muſt needs be obſcure, as be
too comprehenſive, and taking in m
notions than one under the ſame W
which tho of good uſe, as being deſi
ed to make knowledge more comp
dious, yet have frequently turn'd
other way, by requiring large C
ments, that have been often writ
on a ſingle word, and perhaps a
all have left it more doubtful thar
was before.

Dictionaries indeed have been
led in to our aſſiſtance, which h
been compil'd with much pains
in great plenty, not only for wo
but for Sciences and Arts, but beſ
the no great agreement that is am
them, they are ſwoln to ſuch a heig
and become ſo numerous, that th
very Books that were deſign'd as he

n

bow breed confuſion, and their Bulk and wumber is become a Burthen. Such id one as have been compos'd for the mi rench Tongue (which as yet is no lear- n ed Language, tho' it bids pretty fair re r it) would fill a Library, and only Scie e of thoſe, and that not the largeſt, nos been the work of forty Years, tho' ter was carri'd on by the united labours ſto the French *Academy*; after all which of re, it has not eſcap'd cenſure, but s be been thought to want Correction; n nd does thereby ſhow, how impoſſi- We it is to ſet Bounds or give a Stand- deſi to Language, for which purpoſe omp was deſign d. Not only every Tongue, n'd t every Faculty has met with this Co, Dictionaries are become a great yrit t of Learning, and nothing remains, s a that as it has fair'd with *Bibliothe-* thar, which are grown ſo numerous, t (g) a *Bibliotheca Bibliothecarum* een s thought a neceſſary work, ſo Di- h naries ſhould have the like ſervice ns e them; a *Dictionarium, Dictionari-* wo, might be a work of ſome uſe, beſ ſure of great Bulk, and I wonder am as not been yet undertaken.

(g) *W. Ant. Teiſſer. v. Th. Lab.*

hei To redreſs and heal all theſe inconve- t th ncies, an univerſal Remedy has indeed as he n thought of, a *Real Charact a d*

n C *Philo-*

Philosophical Language, a work that been pursu'd of late with great ap tion, and with some expectations o cess and advantage; But however sible this may seem at a distance, it be fear'd, it is only so in Theory, that upon tryal, it will be foun impracticable thing. For this Lang being design'd not to express words things, we must first be agreed a the nature of things, before we ca Marks and Characters to represent th and I very much despair of such agreement. To name only one, w Bishop *Wilkins* first under took this sign, (*b*) *Substance* and *Accidents* a receiv'd Division, and according ranking things, and reducing them Heads, (which is the great excell of this Design) He proceeds acc to the order they stand in, of *Subs* and *Accidents*, in the *Scale* of *Pra ments*; but were he to begin now, would suit his design to the Philoso in vogue, he must draw a new Sch and instead of *Accidents* must tak *Modes*, which are very different Accidents both in Nature and Num Bishop *Wilkins* was an extraordi Person, but very projecting, an doubt this design may go along

(*b*) *Real Char. Par.* 2. c. 1.

his *Dædalus* and *Archimedes*, and be rank-
ed with his *flying Chariot* and *voyage* to
the Moon. The Diviſions of Tongues
was inflicted by God as a Curſe upon
humane Ambition, and may have been
continu'd ſince for the ſame reaſon; and
is no Remedy has been yet found, ſo
is moſt probable, it is not to be ex-
pected, nor are we to hope to unite that
which God has divide: The Providence
of God may have ſo order'd it for a
check to Men's Pride, who are other-
wiſe apt to be building *Babels*, were
there no difficulties to obſtruct and exer-
ciſe them in their way.

CHAP III.

Of Grammar.

THO Grammar belook'd upon
many as a trivial thing, and o
the Employment of our Youth, yet
Greateſt Men have not thought it
neath their care; *Plato* and *Ariſt*
among the Greeks, and *Cæſar* and *V*
among the Latins have treated on t
ſubject. In our times the Comm
Grammar that goes under the name
Mr. *Lily* was done by ſome of the m
conſiderable Men of the Age; T
Engliſh Rudiments by Dr. *Colt* D
of *Pauls*, with a Preface to the firſt
ditions, directing its uſe, by no leſs M
than *Cardinal Wolſey*; The moſt Ra
nal part, the Syntax, was writ or co
ed (*i*) by *Eraſmus*, and the other p
by other hands: So that tho Mr.
now bears the name, which while livi
he always modeſtly refus'd, yet it
carri'd on by the joynt endeavours o

(*i*) *Op. Tom.* 1. *p.* 141.

veral Learned Men, and he perhaps had not the largeſt ſhare in that work.

Were there more of *Caſar* and *Varro* extant, they might be of good uſe to us in our Enquiries, but all *Caſar*'s Book on this Subject being loſt, and only ſome parts of *Varro* left, we want two good Helps: Tho from thoſe ſhort Specimens we have of *Caſar*, we were not to expect too much from him; he has been quoted by (*k*) *A. Gellius* with doubtful characters, and twice or thrice (*l*) by *Charisius* an Antient Grammarian, and always to correct him, as he will ſeem to deſerve to any one who will take the pains to conſult the particular places: and as for *Varro*, his Books are chiefly about the Etymologies of words, which are of no great uſe, being obſcure and uncertain.

(*k*) *L.* 19. *c.* 8.
(*l*) *L.* 1. *p.* 9. 119. *Ed. Putſch.*

The following Grammarians are yet more defective, we have a large Collection of them put out by *Putſchius*, who (againſt the cuſtom of moſt Editors, that ſeldom uſe to ſpeak diſparagingly of their Authors) ingenuouſly confeſſeth, that ſome of them were ſcarce worth an Edition. And moſt of them having been writ, either when Learning was low, or after Barbariſm had begun to overthrow the Empire, it is no wonder, that they

they do not riſe above their Level, or that while they lay down Rules in this Art, they ſcarce write in tolerable Latin: *Priſcian* himſelf will be no exception to this, who notwithſtanding his ſtrictneſs in giving Rules and ſeverity in cenſuring others, has much ado to preſerve himſelf from Barbariſm: Let any one read ſome of his firſt lines, he will need go no farther to make a judgment.

Some of our Modern Criticks have deſerv'd well of this Art, who as they have us'd more perſpicuity, ſo they have writ with much greater Purity, than moſt of the Antient Grammarians have done: *Valla*, *Eraſmus*, and our *Lynacer* have taken much pains and ſhown great judgment in this matter; and yet after all, as if nothing had been done, ariſeth *Sanctius*, and after him *Schioppius*, and correct all that had gone before them. *Cicero* and *Quinctilian* were blind with theſe Men, who make ſuch diſcoveries, as never had been thought of, by any of the Antients; all Grammar before them was, *Cloacina*, polluted and full of miſtakes; theirs only is the true way, which they pretend is highly Rational, containing few and eaſie Rules, and under theſe ſcarce any exceptions. The

if this new method be examin'd, it will be found as fallacious, and they as fallible as other Men: *Sanctius*'s great principle on which he goes, is, That Languages, and particularly the Latin, are not purely arbitrary, or depending barely on use and custom, but that an Analogy has been obſerv'd, and a reaſon may be given of the Idioms of Tongues, and upon this he builds a Rational Grammar. This perhaps might hold in ſome meaſure, in the Hebrew, as far as its words were impos'd upon juſt Reaſons; but in the Latin Tongue which he treats of, that was firſt form'd and afterwards grew up in confuſion, and under a People, while they were yet Barbarous, we are not to expect ſuch mighty Regularity. The *Romans* knew nothing of Grammar, till the times of *Ennius*, when that Tongue was pretty well grown, and conſequently could have no great regard to it in forming their Language, and therefore for any one now, to pretend to fix the Analogy of words, or to reduce all under ſtrict Rule, is to ſet bounds where they were never intended, and to find a Reaſon that was never meant. Had Grammar been as antient as Languages, we might have proceeded in this manner, but it

being invented only as a help, and
fram'd originally as an Immutable R
we muſt ſuit it to our buſineſs as
as we can, but are not to expect,
ſhould be uniform and not lyable to
ny exceptions.

To take a ſhort view of ſome parti
lars, 1. As to Letters, we are not
agreed about their Original, which mi
be of uſe in fixing our Alphabets, for
the Greek letters and from them
Latin, ſeem deriv'd from the *Phenic*
and theſe again from the ancient *Heb*
as has been attempted to be ſhown,
only from Hiſtory, but from the af
ty of letters, by turning the *He*
Characters towards the Right hand,
co'ding to our way of reading; yet th
lies one great objection againſt t
That *Cadmus* who brought the *Phœn*
letters among the *Greeks*, is only ſai
have brought ſixteen, and therefore
have left ſome behind him, for the
nician or *Hebrew* Alphabet was alw
fixt, and of the ſame length as n
ſince we have had any writing, a ſta
ing Evidence of which we have in
veral Alphabetical Pſalms and Chapt
Were this more certain, it would
to determine our Alphabets, both
to their Numbers and Powers, wh

now we are uncertain in both, and there are great disputes among the Criticks, as to some of the Elements, whether they be letters or no.

(2) In the Etymological or Analogical part, we labour under the same difficulties; nor can it be otherwise, where languages were so much the effect of chance, and were not fram'd by any setled or establish'd Rules. When *Varro* writ his Book, *De Lingua Latina*, it is plain this Analogy was a disputable thing, he brings several objections against, as well as reasons for it, and his Instances are so many, and his objections so considerable, that he must needs be allowed to have left it doubtful. In the same Age, when a question was put by *Pompey* to most of the Learned Men in *Rome*, (m) concerning the Analogy of a very common word, they could come to no resolution about it, tho *Cicero* was one of the number, and so it was left undetermin'd. And if the thing were so much controverted among them, who had better oppertunities of enquiry, as living nearer the Original, when many monuments of Antiquity were left, and the Latin yet a living Language, among them; it must needs be much more so

(m) *V. A. Gell. l. 10. cap. 1.*

to

to us, who live at this distance, and wa
many of their helps: Our greatest lig
must be borrowed from their Boo
and we can be only more happy in t
application. Accordingly we follo
them pretty close, and are much mo
directed by the custom of Ancient a
approved Authors, than by the reas
of words that is perpetually varyin
How many words are there agreeable x
nough with Analogy, and of Modern u
among learned Men, which yet, becau
they are not us'd by the Ancients, a
not only dislik'd, but are look'd upo
by the Critics, as *vitia Sermonis*? Inn
merable Instances may be had (*n*) o
Vossius: few men would be affraid u
use, *Incertitudo*, *Ingratitudo*, and oth
words of the like nature; there is n
thing disagreeable in them or disprop
tionable to Speech; and yet becau
they have not been us'd by the bes
Classic Authors, but have been seemin
ly avoided, when they came in the
way, and either paraphras'd, or Gre
words put in their room, they ha
been exploded by our Modern Crit
The *Anomalisms* in words have been (*o*)
many, and the differences yet more A
mong those that have treated of them
that some have gone so far as to deny

(n) *De vit. Sermon. sparsim.*

th

the thing it self, and to allow no Analogy either in the Greek or Latin Tongue.

(3.) Grammar has fared no better in the constructive part, whether we will be guided by Rules, or authority of Best Authors; the number of Rules is become a Burthen, and the multitude of exceptions is yet more vexatious: If we will believe *Schioppius*, there are five hundred Rules in our Common Grammars, in the Syntax only of Nouns and Verbs and Principles, and scarce any of those without their exceptions, and so proportionably in the other parts of Syntax; all which must employ a great part of our time. Or if we will be directed by authorities, the Critics have been so unmercifully severe, that we scarce know, which to follow: *Cicero* tho the most unexceptionable has not escap'd their censure, he has been pelted by them, and *Valla* and *Erasmus* have charg'd him with Solœcisms. *Diutius Commorans Athenis —— erat animus ad te scribere*; and *Quum in animo haberem navigandi*, (o) are noted passages to this purpose. And indeed tho *Cicero* be look'd upon as a Standard of Language with us, yet he was not so to those of his own Age;

(o) *Vi Eras. Ciceron. Dial. Op. Tom.* 1, *P*, 823. *v. valla. I.* 1. *Cap.* 25.

At-

(p) L. 7. Ep. 3. *Atticus* (*p*) in an Epiſtle to him, ch
eth him with falſe Latin, and being
to a vindication, he defends himſel
the authority of *Terence*; ſo that w
ever *Cicero* be to us, *Terence* was t
the better Authority. Neither of th
ſure are unexceptionable, nor any o
that we can meet with, tho we ſho
carry our ſearch through the wh
Set.

4. Pronuntiation has been the S
ject of great Debates, eſpecially in
Greek Tongue, the pronunciation
which, has been more neglected:
tho at firſt view, it may ſeem a li
thing, and hardly worth a Debate,
the neglect of it, has been of ver
conſequence to that Tongue. For w
the Modern Greeks had little regard
the powers of their Letters, and m
and confounded the ſounds of th
Vowels and Diphthongs, and run m
of them into one, in their pronuntiati
they came at laſt in many words, to w
as they ſpoke, which was one great
caſion of the corruption of their Tong
This vitious way of ſpeaking was brou
by the exil'd Greeks into *Italy*, and fr
thence together with Learning, ſpr
over the greateſt part of *Europe*, til

net with a check here in *England*, from wo very Eminent Men, both of them ucceſſively Profeſſors in the *Univerſity* f *Cambridge*, Sir *Thomas Smith*, and Sir *ohn Cheek*. And becauſe the Contro-erſie is not much known, and may af-rd ſome light to the pronunciation of e Greek, I will give a brief account f this Grammatical War.

It was in the latter end of *Hen.* 8's eign, that *Smith* and *Cheek* began to ob-rve the inconveniences in this ſort of pro-unciation; they ſaw that not only the auty of the Language was loſt in this ay, but likewiſe its very Spirit and Life ere gone, by the loſs of ſo many Vow-s and Diphthongs, and the Language come *jejune* and languid: In this way ſpeaking it, nothing of numeroſity pear'd in the Antient Orators and hetoricians, nor thoſe flowing Periods, r which they had been renown'd in ld *Greece*; neither could they them-lves ſhow their Eloquence, in their rations or Lectures, for want of the auty and variety of ſounds. This put em upon thinking of a Reformation, (q) and having conſulted moſt of the ntient Rhetoricians, and other Greek uthors, who had treated of Sounds d finding ſufficient grounds from thence

(q) *V. Ctek. De ling. Gr. pronunt. Diſput. cum Steph. wint. ſparſ. v. Smith De pronunt. Ling. Gr.*

for

for an alteration, with the consent of moſt of the learned Linguiſts in the University, they ſet about the work, with ſome little oppoſition at firſt, but afterwards with ſucceſs, and almoſt general approbation. *Cromwel* was then Chancellor of the Univerſity, under whom Reformations were not ſo dangerous, but *Gardiner* ſucceeding, who diſliked all Innovations, a ſtop was put for ſome time; This Man aſſum'd a power that *Cæſar* never exercis'd, of giving Law to Words, and having writ to *Cheek* then Greek Profeſſor to deſiſt from this new method, which in reality was the Ancient and true way, and not meeting with a ſuitable complyance, he ſent out an order in his own name and the Senate's, which being too long to inſert at large, I ſhall only mention two or three Heads of it as being ſomewhat extraordinary.

Quiſquis noſtram poteſtatem agnoſcit, ſonos literis ſive Græcis ſive Latinis abuſi publico preſentis ſeculi alienos, privato judicio affingere ne audeto.

Diphthongos Græcas nedum Latinas, niſi id diæreſis exigat, ſonis ne diducito----

Ai ab e, & ei, ad i, ſono ne diſtinguito, tantum in Orthographia diſcrimen ſervato u, i, v, uno eodemque ſono exprimito ——
Ne multa. In ſonis omnino ne philoſophator, ſed utitor preſentibus ——

After ſuch a publick Declaration, there was no farther room for private judgment, an obedience was paid, and *Gardiner*'s way prevail'd, till a Reformation in Religion, made way for a Reformation in Language, that has obtain'd ever ſince. However, the Controverſie was then manag'd with much warmth and Learning, *Gardiner* inſiſted principally upon Cuſtom, and the Authority of the preſent *Greeks*: on the other ſide they pleaded Antiquity, and that drawn down from the moſt ancient Authors; ſeveral of the Greek Rhetoricians were brought into the Controverſie, and other Authors that had dropt any expreſſion that look'd that way, and a Man would wonder to ſee ſo much learning ſhewn on ſo dry a Subject. Where the victory lay is pritty viſible, and ſo great a Man (*r*) as *Du Freſne* could not have been at a loſs, how to determine the matter, had he not been poſſeſſed with partiality for a Party, which he ſhows

(*r*) *Gloſ. Gr. Præf.* 9, 12.

ſhows too plainly, by blaming *Biſhop Godwin* (though very unjuſtly) for leaving *Gardiner* out of his Catalogue of Biſhops.

But I have run out too far in Grammatical niceties, whoever deſires more on this Subject, may meet with enough in Biſhop *Wilkins* (*ſ*) and I have principally inſiſted on ſuch particulars as have been neglected or overlookt by him.

(*ſ*) *R. Char. l. 1. Ch. 4, &c.*

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Of Rhetoric and Eloquence.

AS Grammar teacheth us to ſpeak properly, ſo it is the part of Rhetoric to inſtruct, how to do it elegantly, by adding Beauty to that Language, that before was nakedly and Grammatically true. If we would be nice in diſtinguiſhing, there is a difference betwixt Rhetoric and Eloquence, tho we treat of them under the ſame Head; the one lays down Rules, the other practiſes them, and a Man may be a very good Rhetorician, and yet at the ſame time a mean Orator: Perhaps *Quinctilian* gives as good Rules as *Cicero*, I am ſure in better method, and with greater cloſeneſs; whereas the other is ſo much an Orator, that he cannot forget it, whilſt he acts the part of a Rhetorician, he dilates and flouriſhes, and gives example inſtead of Rule: And yet a Man that would form a Compariſon betwixt

Quinctilian's Declamations, (if yet they be *Quinctilian*'s) and the Orations of *Tully*, would be in great danger of forfeiting his discretion.

The Ancient *Romans* had Orators among them and some Eloquence, Instances whereof we have in their History almost as high as the *Tarquins* but it was then a chast thing without Paint or Dress, Rhetorick was not yet known among them, the name of it was not so much as heard of some hundred years after, they wanting a word to express it by, which they were afterwards forc'd to borrow from the Greeks (*t*) As soon as it came among them, we trace it in its effects, for as among the *Grecians*, whence it was borrow'd, it had occasion'd Tumults and Concussions of State, especially at *Athens* where it prevail'd most, only *Lacedæmon* was more quiet, from whence it was banish'd,and where a plain Laconic Style was in vogue,so at *Rome* when once it had got any footing,and the *Gracchi*, the *Bruti* and other Demagogues begun to harangue the People, there was no more peace in that State, nothing but continual Broils and intestine Commotions, till they had fought themselves out of that liberty which they seem'd to contend for, and their

(*t*) *Quintil. l. 2. cap. 14.*

their heats ended in the ruine of their Commonwealth. The Roman Orator had seen so much of this in his time, before things were brought to the last extremity, that he begins his Book of (*u*) Rhetoric with a doubt, whether that art had brought greater advantage or detriment to the Commonwealth? And if an Orator where he is treating of Eloquence, were so doubtful in the matter, we need not be at a loss on which side to determine the Case.

(*u*) *De invent. Rhet. l.* 1.

To pass by consequences, that are not justly chargeable on things, which are generally good or otherwise, according as the persons are that use them, we will consider the art it self. If it be an advantage to any Art, to have been treated of by Men that are skilful in it, this Art should have received greater improvements and be nearer perfection, than most others, having been considered by one of the greatest Masters that ever was. *Cicero* has compos'd pretty large Treatises upon this Subject, that have been preserv'd and deliver'd down to us; particularly two (*x*), in the former of which, as he treats of the several kinds, and lays down such Rules, as are necessary to be observ'd in our way to Eloquence; so in the latter he deli-

(*x*) *De Oratore, Orator sive Brutus.*

neates and gives us the Portraiture of a perfect Orator. I will not pretend to judge of so great a Master; thus much may be said with modesty enough, that as in the first Treatise, the Persons in the Dialogue differ from one another; so in the latter the Orator seems to differ from himself; in the first he is doubtful, in the latter impracticable: In his Dialogue, (which has so much the face of probability, that some among the Learned have mistaken it for a real Conference. The Persons introduc'd are equally Great, and argue and discourse with equal Learning, and he having assign'd no part to himself, consistently with his doubtfulness in this matter, A man may sometimes be at a loss, which side to close with. And his *Orator* is too great and inimitable an example, perfectly imaginary, and consequently of no use in humane life, for which Eloquence is design'd. He himself gives him only an Ideal Being, and owns that he is no where to be found but in the conceptions of our mind.

And indeed we must not expect to find him any where else, if all these things be necessary to an Orator, that he seems to require. For first, *Nature* and

and *Genius* are indiſpenſably neceſſary, without which the wheels being clog'd and under force, will drive heavily; our Orator muſt have a flowing invention to furniſh him with Ideas, a ſtrong imagination to impreſs them, a happy memory to retain, and a true judgment to diſpoſe them in their due rank and order. He muſt have Law, to lead him into the knowldege of the Conſtitution and Cuſtoms of his Country, Hiſtory to acquaint him with examples, Logic to ſupply him with proper *Topics*, and morality to enable him to penetrate into, and apply to the Manners and Paſſions of Men, the ἤθη and πάθη, which are the Springs of Action, and ſources of perſwaſion: In ſhort being to treat of every thing, he muſt be ignorant of nothing. He muſt be in *Cicero*'s language, a *Wiſeman*, that is a Man of univerſal knowledge, and what is more a Paradox, he muſt likewiſe be a *Good Man*; a Quality that ſo rarely accompanyed Heathen Eloquence, that both *Cicero* and *Quinctilian* are much at a plunge in aſſerting it to the *Greek* and *Roman* Orators. He muſt not only have a general knowledge of things, but muſt have skill in adorning them, he muſt have the greateſt Art, and yet at the ſame time

the skill to conceal it, for when ever Art appears, it loseth its effect, and no thing can please, much less perswade but what is natural. The most exter nal things are necessary to his accom plishment, he must not only have El quence in his words, but likewise in his looks, decent motions, and an a of perswasion, that graceful action a pronunciation, which *Demosthenes* ma the first and second and third thing, a which had so great a share in his ow Composures, that we are not to wond that his Orations please less in the re ing, than they did in the deliverance, wanting three parts of what they h when they were spoke.

These being the qualifications t are necessary to a compleat and perf Orator, it is next to impossible, th should ever be any such Man. If a such were, in whom all these condi ons met, it must have been he who quires them, I mean *Cicero*, who h the happiest *Genius*, and that cultiva with the greatest Art and Industry, t perhaps ever Man had; he whom *Qu* (y) *L.*10. *ctilian* (y) opposeth to all the *Gra* *cap.* 1. ! Orators, to whom he gives the Force *Demosthenes*, the Sweetness of *Isocrates*, a the *Copia* of *Plato*; he whom he st

the name not of a Man, but of Eloquence it self, and gives it as a Rule, by which a Man may judge of his own Proficiency in Eloquence, if *Cicero* begins to please him: yet this *Cicero* was so far from pleasing in his own age, that as he met with Detractors among his Enemies, one of which compos'd a Treatise (*z*) against him, under a very disparaging title, so he did not satisfie *Brutus* among his Friends, who taxeth him with looseness in his compositures, and charges him with want of Nerves and strength. And *Quinctilian* (*a*) where he comes to explain himself, tells us, that he stiles *Cicero* a Compleat Orator only in the vulgar meaning of the word, for in the strict sense, he was yet to seek, and does not only desire perfection in him, but acquaints us with the faults he was charged with (*b*) to wit, that he was turgid and swelling in his expressions, too frequent in repetitions, broken in his Composition, and not only easie in his Stile, but soft. In the last age, when Learning begun to revive, and *Cicero* was study'd almost to the neglect of our Bibles, yet one of our Great Critics in the Latine Tongue, could never be reconcil'd to a *Ciceronian*

(*z*) *Largius Licinius, ap. Gell. l.* 17. *cap.* 1.

(*a*) *L.* 12. *cap.* 1.

(*b*) *L.* 12. *cap.* 10.

(c) *Certe Linacer— Ciceronis dictionem nunquam probare potuit nec sine fastidio audire. v. Gard. Epist. ad Chek.* p. 176.

stile, nor could hear him read (c) without wearineſs and ſomewhat of loathing.

It is not yet agreed among the learned, which of his Compoſures are the moſt Elegant, otherwiſe it were eaſier to know where to make our Reflections. Sir *William Temple* brings his Oration for *Labienus*, (d) (whom by an errour very pardonable among ſo many excellencies he miſtakes for *Ligarius*) as an Inſtance of the power of humane Eloquence. It muſt be confeſt this is a remarkable inſtance; here was the Greateſt Orator and the Greateſt Judge (for *Caſar* is allow'd by *Cicero* to be one of the moſt Eloquent Perſons of his time) *Cæſar* comes into the place of judicature breathing revenge againſt *Ligarius*, and with an obſtinate reſolution to condemn him, but with difficulty is prevail'd with to hear *Cicero* in his Defence, which he gives way to, rather as a thing of meer form, than with any thoughts of yielding to his perſwaſion: However, no ſooner is he heard, but he moves and affects, and when he comes to touch upon

(d) P. 513.

upon *Pharſalia*, the Conqueror has no more Soul left, he takes fire and is tranſported beyond himſelf, he ſhakes and trembles, and drops the Papers that he held in his hand, and in ſpite of all his reſolutions, abſolves the Criminal, whom he was determin'd to condemn. And now I think I have allow'd enough to Eloquence, but to deal impartially, the force of it is ſo great, and the effect of it ſo wonderful in this Inſtance, that it would raiſe a Man's curioſity to enſquire into the Cauſe. Had this Oration been loſt, we ſhould have had moſt terrible Out-cries, and lamentable Complaints among the Learned, of the loſs that the world has ſuſtain'd in ſo conſummate a piece. Lo it is yet extant! and altho' this, as every thing of *Cicero*'s, be excellent in its kind, yet ſo much will be granted, that it may be read without rupture and amazement.

But granting as much force to Eloquence as can be deſir'd, how is it, it does perſwade, in this and other inſtances? I am ſure not from rational arguments, which ought to be the proper means of convincing a reaſonable Man, but from quite different motives and *Topics* of perſwaſion: *Cæſar*'s deliberate, and perhaps moſt reaſonable reſolution, was,

was, not to pardon ſo great a Criminal, an implacable wretch, that had afterwards a hand in the Blood of his Deliverer. The Orator does not ſo much ſeek to convince him of the unreaſonableneſs of the thing, as endeavour to prevail with him from other inducements, he applies to his paſſions inſtead of his Reaſon, his weak and blind ſide by puting him in mind of the *Pharſalian* Field, of his glory in ſubuding, and the greater honours he had acquir'd by pardoning; he ſtiles him *Father*, tho' at the ſame time he thought him an Uſurper, and bids him remember, it was his People that beg'd *Ligarius* of him, and that he could not do a more popular thing, than by yielding to their requeſts and giving way to his uſual Clemency. Such are the Topics that are brought from Rhetoric! The truth of it is, our common Eloquence is uſually a cheat upon the Underſtanding, it deceives us with appearances, inſtead of things, and makes us think we ſee reaſon, whilſt it is tickling our ſenſe. Its ſtrongeſt proofs, do often conſiſt in an artificial turn of words, and beautiful expreſſions, which if unravel'd, its ſtrength is gone and the reaſon is deſtroyed.

There

There are few that read *Seneca*, that do not imagine, he writes with great force and ſtrength, his thoughts are lofty, almoſt every line in him is a Sentence, and every Sentence does ſeem a Reaſon, and yet it has been well obſerv'd, by a Maſter in the Art of thinking, (*e*) who has taken ſome pains in unravelling ſome of his loftieſt expreſſions, that there is little more in him at the bottom, than a Pomp of Words. And the ſame obſervation is made there, upon two other Authors, the one of whom is not ſo proper to be mention'd, the other is not worth the mention: All of them are known, and are as much quoted, and will go as far in popular diſcourſes as Authors of cloſer thought.

(*e*) *Malebranch. Recherch. Par.* 3. *l.* 2. *ch.* 4.

It is not enough to ſay, that this is the fault of theſe Authors and not of Eloquence, for its end being to perſwade, and the perſons whom we are to deal with being uſually the People, who as they are the moſt, are not generally the wiſeſt, if we would perſwade them, we muſt ſuit our ſelves to their capacities, otherwiſe we muſt be content to loſe our end. An appoſite Similitude is argument with them, and a quaint ſaying

saying will go farther than a substantial Reason, for being guided by imagination, they are most affected with sensible resemblances, and not having capacity to penetrate into things, that which is easiest and lies uppermost perswades them most: So that unless we could make them wise, they will be easie and credulous, and will be led by appearances instead of truth. And this is one reason, why Eloquence could never flourish, at least not arrive to any considerable height, unless it were among a people, that had understandings above the ordinary size, such as the *Athenians* once were, and afterwards the *Romans*: And for the same reason it is, that the wisest Men are not always the best Orators, either at the *Bar* or in the *Chair*, for they are too much above the People's level, their Artillery shoots over, and it is no wonder if they miss their aim. And if it be yet said, there is notwithstanding such a thing as true Eloquence, that will always have its force with Wisemen; I grant there is, but besides that this is to restrain it to a very narrow compass, Wise Men will be most guided by wise considerations, such as are grounded upon close Argument and Rational

tional Concluſions, which are more properly the buſineſs of Logic than of Rhetoric and Eloquence.

Having gone thus far in my reflections, principally with regard to the Ancient Orators, it is almoſt needleſs to examine the Moderns; ſome of their Patrons in other ſorts of Learning, have given up the compariſon in this; ſo that if the Ancients are found to be wanting in perfection, we are not to expect to find it in the Moderns. However a word or two of them. The *French* have ſhown moſt care in this particular, among whom, an Academy has been erected for the refining their Language; the Members whereof have ſpent whole days in examining the propriety of a word, and have been no leſs accurate in ſtudying the Beauties and Ornaments of Speech and Numeroſity of their periods: But I doubt the obſervation is true, that whilſt they have been ſo ſcrupulouſly nice, they have run into the fault of over much accuracy, and by adding Beauty to their Language have broken its ſtrength; by ſpining and refining it, and giving it too much paint and flouriſh, much of its maſculine ſtrength is loſt, and I have ſometimes thought, that it boded not well to that

So-

Society, that their first Prize of Elo-
(f) *Mad. de Scudery.* quence was given to a Woman (*f*). It is certainly a fault in Oratory to be too curious in the choice of words, a bold Period tho againſt Rule will pleaſe more than to be always in phraſe, and a decent negligence is often a beauty in expreſſion, as well as Dreſs; whereas by being over correct or always flouriſhing our periods become either too luſcious or too ſtiff. And yet tho ſome Members of the *French Academy* have pretty freely cenſur'd this fault, and have deſervedly laugh'd at ſome Gentlemen, that did not only miſpend their time in ſtudying Periods, but in avoiding rough and unſounding words, it is plain ſome of their own Brethren have run into the ſame fault, and have been curious and affected in their ſtyle, almoſt to a degree of Superſtition. For what can be
(g) *M. de Gomberville v. Hiſt. Acad. Franc. p.* 50. ſaid leſs of him who compos'd (*g*) a large Book in five Volumes, in all which he declin'd making uſe of a common and almoſt unavoidable word (*h*), only be-
(h) *Car.* cauſe it did not pleaſe him? or did M. *Vaugelas* employ his time better, who having undertaken the tranſlation of *Quintus Curtius*, no very great performance, ſpent thirty years in tranſlating his Author, and yet left it an unfiniſh'd work?

work? In which work it is very remarkable, that having left five or six different Translations in the Margin of his Book, that which stood first was generally approv'd of as the best (*i*) as containing his first and natural thoughts, whereas the others were probably more forc'd and strain'd.

(*i*) *Ib.* p. 213.

But Mr. *Pelisson* in his History of the *Academy*, has given us a *Panygerick* upon the *French King*, which I suppose is design'd as a Specimen of French Eloquence, and being there in five different Languages, every man may read it in a known tongue, and be able in some measure to judge, to what degree of perfection Oratory has arriv'd among our Neighbours: tho the truth of it is, the English Translation is wretchedly mangl'd, and so different from the Authors sense, that it ceases to be his. However take it in the Original, I believe it will not be pretended, that he has painted out his *Hero*, in such charming colours, as either *Pliny* has done his *Trajan*, or *Cicero*, *Pompy* in one of his Orations (*k*), or *Cæsar* in another. The *Academies* Rhetoric is yet wanting, which they have given us an expectation of, both in the same History and in the Preface to their Dictionary. But that

(*k*) *Tro lege Manilia. Pro Marcel. & Ligar.*

that work having coſt them forty years and a Grammar being in order the next undertaking, if that likewiſe ſhould employ them a proportionable time their Rules of Eloquence ſeem reſerv for Poſterity and not for us.

The Engliſh as they have not take the ſame pains nor purſu'd the deſig with equal induſtry with their Neigh bours, by erecting Societies for the im provement of Oratory; ſo whatev their performances have been, they ha been more modeſt in their pretenſions For tho the French have compos'd larg volumes upon this Subject, with muc Oſtentation, yet I ſcarce know of an that have been publiſh'd by the Engliſh whether it be that there *Genius* inclin them to ſtrength rather than beauty, o that truſting to their native force the deſpiſe the fineneſs of Art. They hav indeed been charg'd by their Neigh bours (*l*) with a ſort of Eloquence tha is not very charming, in beginning their diſcourſes generally with ſom Prophecy or ſurpriſing Story, which if it were true, is not perhaps ſo much to be attributed to their want of skill as to their compliance with the humo of a People, that attend too much to Prophecies, and are too much affected

(*l*) *V. comin. ap. Journ. Des Scav. An.* 65. *p.* 100.

with

with ſtories: But however, it were 200 years ago, when the obſervation was firſt made, it is otherwiſe now, when Oratory after the many changes, it has undergone, has put on a quite different face: tho even from thoſe frequent alterations, its inſtability is too remarkable, and would tempt a man to think, that in ſome meaſure it depends upon humor, and has not ſo unmoveable a Foundation as might be wiſht.

For to look back a very little, in thoſe dark times, it is not impoſſible, that Eloquence was much about that pitch, the obſervation would have it, in a blind age, when Legends were in faſhion, and the People were kept in Ignorance and led by Wonder, a Reformation in Religion brought with it an advancement in Learning, and as Elegancy begun then to be reſtor'd to the Latin Tongue, ſo in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, the Writers of that age, ſeem to have affected a *Ciceronian* ſtyle in Engliſh, both in the length of their periods, and often by throwing the verb to the end of the Sentence: The ſucceeding Reign degenerated rather than improv'd, when the generality run into an affected way of writing and nothing

would pleaſe, without a fantaſtick Dreſs and jingle of words. And tho in the following Reign, this way of writing was much laid a ſide, yet even then they larded their Diſcourſes ſo thick with Sentences of Greek and Latin, that as things now are, it would be a hard matter to excuſe them from Pedantry. What ſort of Oratory obtain'd in the late times of Confuſion, is well known, eſpecially in the Pulpit: As if the obſervation of our Neighbours had been calculated for them; little Similitudes and odd Examples, and a worſe ſort of Cant, was the Eloquence, of theſe times, which notwithſtanding charm'd the People to that degree, that it hurry'd them beſides themſelves, and almoſt out of their Wits. And tho Oratory may be thought to be now at its full height, and we may flatter our ſelves, that nothing can be added to the Strength and Solidity of thoſe Diſcourſes, that are publiſhed among us almoſt every day, upon every Subject; yet I will not undertake, but that ſomewhat may be produc'd in the next age, ſo much more perfect, at leaſt more pleaſing, than any thing we yet have, that the preſent Eloquence ſhall be lookt upon by

our

our Poſterity with the ſame neglect, with which we now treat the performances of our Fore-fathers. No doubt, what they writ, pleas'd their own age, as much as our moſt boaſted Pieces pleaſe now, and we ought not to be too confident in our own performances, with diſregard to other ages; unleſs we will make our ſelves the Standard of Eloquence and not give other men leave to judge of us, as we have done of thoſe before us.

I know no reaſon, why it may not vary according to times as well as places, which, in the latter caſe it ſo evidently does, That, that which is lookt upon as Elegant in one Nation, would be laught at by another People. The Eaſtern Nations are ſo different from us in their ſtyle, that could our moſt Elegant Compoſuers be underſtood by them, they would be thought flat and inſipid, they being ſo accuſtomed to Sublime and Lofty Expreſſions, that nothing will affect them, but what is fetch'd from the Sun and Moon and Stars. And nearer home, where the difference ought not to be ſo conſiderable, the *French* and *Italians*, who have taken ſuch pains, and ſpent ſo much time in

poliſhing their Style, yet charge one another with imperfections in their way of writing, and both of them differ from the *Engliſh*. Every Nation can diſcover faults in their Neighbours, and do not conſider, that their Neighbours ſee the like faults to blame in them.

CHAP

CHAP V.

Of LOGIC.

LOgic in the Modern phraſe is the Art of thinking, and being deſigned for a help or Inſtrument of Reaſon, its very nature implies weakneſs in the underſtanding; and therefore we ought not to value our ſelves too much upon our ability, in giving ſubtle Rules and finding out logical Arguments, ſince it would be more perfection not to want them. God Almighty who ſees all things intuitively does not want theſe helps, he neither ſtands in need of Logic, nor uſes it; but we whoſe underſtandings are ſhort, are forc'd to collect one thing from another, and in that proceſs we ſeek out proper *Mediums*, and call in all other helps, that may be ſubſervient to reaſon.

There was little conſiderable done in this matter before *Ariſtotle*, (for the *Eleatic* Logic was only an Art of Wrang-

ling, as the *Academic*, was of doubting) He was the great advancer of this Art, insomuch that ever since his time, the main grounds of reasoning have been borrow'd from him, even by those that have despis'd him. But as nothing can be begun and perfected together, so his Logic has been charg'd with several defects; for whereas all Logic is properly reduceable to the four principal operations of the Mind, the two first of these, have been handled by *Aristotle* very perfunctorily, to say no worse, and of the fourth he has said nothing at all: Most of his time has been spent upon the third operation, of which he has treated so largely, that his Logic is in effect, an Art of Syllogizing. In this he glories as his own invention, and has been so much valu'd upon it by some, that it has been stil'd by a modern Author, (*m*) *the greatest effort of humane Wit*. But tho the Invention be confessedly extraordinary, to reduce our vague thoughts and loose reasonings that are almost infinite to certain Rules, and make them conclude in *Mode* and *Figure*; yet whosoever considers the nature of a Syllogism, in how many things it may be false in the Matter and peccant in Form, That not only the

(*m*) *Rapin. Reflex. sur. la log. p.* 375.

Terms

Terms and Propoſitions muſt anſwer to one another, but muſt be adapted to the notions of things, and that theſe two are hard to be connected; whilſt every little ſlip in a Propoſition or Ambiguity in a word can ſpoil the Syllogiſm, will have a leſs opinion of its concluſiveneſs and will find it a hard thing, to bind any Syllogiſm ſo cloſe upon the mind, as not to be evaded under ſome plauſible diſtinction.

Another modern (*u*) I am ſure had this opinion of the matter, for which reaſon he thought it neceſſary to ſeek out another ſort of Logic.

(*u*) *Bacon. Nov. Organ. p.* 50, 132.

I only hint at the principal operations of the mind, for if I ſhould deſcend to leſs particulars, there are few things in *Ariſtotle*, that have not been excepted againſt by modern Authors; ſome of whom have gone ſo far as to queſtion the genuineneſs of his Books, becauſe forſooth, they cannot diſcover in them that *Flumen Orationis*, that *Cicero* ſpeaks of. But tho there can be no ſufficient ground to think them ſpurious, notwithſtanding better arguments have been brought to that purpoſe by an Eminent Philoſopher of theſe later ages (*o*), yet we have too much reaſon to believe, they were much corrupted, from

(*o*) *Hiet. Mirand. Tom.* 2. *p.* 663, &c.

(p) V. lib. 13. *Strabo*'s (*p*) account of their having been mutilated and consumed with moisture, by being bury'd so long under ground in *Greece* after *Aristotle*'s death; and after they were brought to *Rome*, by having been again mangled by ignorant Transcribers: So that it is hard to know, how much we have of *Aristotle*.

The Logic in use among the *Romans* was rather a sort of Rhetoric than Logic, in which sense it is generally to be understood, where we meet with mention of it among them: It was first borrow'd from the *Stoics*, who were in vogue at *Rome*, before *Aristotle* was much known there; and their Logic having been rather Specious than Solid, as consisting much in pomp of words and in giving plausible colours to improbable things, was best fitted to the People, who were little farther concerned for that Art, than as it was of use in point of Eloquence. And tho *Cicero* takes in *Aristotle*, especially in the *Topical* part, that has most affinity with Rhetoric, yet it is plain, he has likewise followed the *Stoics*, tho it was not reputable enough to be own'd. What the *Romans* have done upon this Subject is not worth much notice, having had

little

little occaſion to make uſe of this Art, and what they have of it to purpoſe being borrow'd from *Ariſtotle*; the active Life was their buſineſs, and diſputing never ſeems to have been much in faſhion with them.

However when *Cicero* begun to revive in theſe latter ages, this ſort of Logic was again attempted; the Men of nice Palats could not reliſh *Ariſtotle*, as he was dreſs'd up by the *Schoolmen*, and were ſo madly ſtruck with *Cicero*, that they thought all ſort of Learning was to be borrow'd from his Stores; *Cicero* is drawn in beyond his Province, and his *Topics* ranſack'd to frame a Logic: But tho theſe Men were extraordinary Perſons, yet nothing ſhows more plainly, how neceſſary it is for Men to keep within their proper bounds; For when they come to treat of this matter, it is ſo foreign and unweildy in their hands, that they make very ordinary work: They bring indeed ſome plauſible objections againſt *Ariſtotle*, and ſo far they are within their proper Sphere, but when they ſhould lay down ſomewhat new of their own, they either offer nothing, or what they do, is ſo unſucceſsfully, as only to ſhow that they are out of their Element, and that

Logic

Logic is none of their Talent. I ſpeak th
of the firſt Reformers of Learning, fo
tho *Ramus* run in with them, in his op
poſition to *Ariſtotle*, yet he has out-do
them in this, that he himſelf has give
us a plauſible *Syſteme*; (For I cann
look upon *Valla*'s performance to be
much) which tho it was much rea
and commented on, upon its firſt a
pearing in the world, yet ſeems no
to be diſ-regarded, and in the next a
may probably be forgot.

My *Lord Bacon* ſaw clearer into th
defects of this Art, than moſt Men di
and being neither ſatisfied with th
vulgar Logic, nor with its Reform
tions that were made, ſuitably to hi
vaſt and enterprizing *Genius*, attempt
a Logic wholly new, the Plan of whic
is laid down in his *Novum Organum*
The way of Syllogizing ſeem'd to hi
very fallacious and too dependent upo
words, to be much rely'd on, his ſearc
was after things, and therefore h
brought in a new way of arguing from
Induction, and that grounded upon Ob
ſervation and Experiments: Tho this
Plan as laid down by him, looks like
an *Univerſal Art*, than a diſtinct Logic,
and the deſign is too great and the In
duction too large to be made by one
Man,

Man, or any Society of Men in one Age, if at all practicable: For whatever opinion he might have of the concluſiveneſs of this way, one croſs circumſtance in an Experiment, would as eaſily overthrow his *Induction*, as an ambiguous word would diſorder a Syllogiſm, and a Man needs only make tryal, in any part of natural Hiſtory, as left us by my *Lord Bacon*, to ſee, how concluſive his *Induction* was like to have been. To ſay nothing, that notwithſtanding his blaming the Common Logics, as being too much ſpent in words, himſelf runs into the fault, that he condemns; for what elſe can we make of his *Idola Tribûs*, *Idola Specûs*, *Fori*, *Theatri*; or of his *Inſtantiæ Solitariæ*, *migrantes*, *Oſtenſivæ*, *Clandeſtinæ*, *Conſtitutivæ*, &c. but fine words put to expreſs very common and ordinary things?

After the way of free thinking had been lai'd open by my *Lord Bacon*, it was ſoon after greedily follow'd, for the Underſtanding affects Freedom as well as the Will, and Men will purſue liberty, tho it ends in Confuſion. The *Carteſians* have been obſerv'd to be no friends to Logic, their Maſter has left nothing extant upon that Subject, except

cept ſome ſcatter'd expreſſions; unleſs a Treatiſe of method muſt be interpreted a Logic, which notwithſtanding is more properly metaphyſical. One of his firſt Principles of Reaſoning, after he had doubted of every thing, ſeems to be too circular to be ſafely built upon, for he is for proving the Being of God from the truth of our Faculties, and the truth of our Faculties from the Being of a God; he had better have ſuppos'd our Faculties to be true, for they being the Inſtruments that we make uſe of in all our proofs and deductions, unleſs we ſuppoſe them to be true, we are at a ſtand, and can go no farther in our proofs: So that the way of ſuppoſing ſeems to be more rational than that of doubting.

The notion of perceiving things by *Ideas* is of a piece with this, which however plauſible it might ſeem when firſt ſtarted, after it came to be examin'd Men's *Ideas* about the ſame objects happened to be ſo vaſtly different, and that in things that were the moſt clearly and diſtinctly perceiv'd, that it was a great prejudice againſt this opinion. There are few of the firſt ſtarted *Ideas*, that have not been examin'd and many of them effectually confuted, by the late Im-

Improvers of this way, and other *Ideas* ſubſtituted in their room, which have given no more ſatisfaction to others, than the firſt did to them; and till we can agree about ſome Rule or Standard, by which to meaſure and adjuſt our Ideas, it is only a looſe way of thinking, and there can be no end of Controverſie this way: Altho there be little hopes of this, whilſt we have reaſon to believe, that nothing pleaſeth more in this way, than the liberty it gives, or which every Man takes of framing new and fine *Ideas*. I am no enemy to free thinking, yet I muſt always wiſh, we might proceed by ſome Rule, (for a Rule is no Bar but a perfection of freedom) otherwiſe I am ſure, there is no agreement to be expected, and it is to be feared we ſhall end in Confuſion. Clear and diſtinct perception has been given us for a Rule, and the conformity of our *Ideas* with the Reality of things has been given as another; but it is no good proof of either, that Men have differ'd much in ſome of thoſe things, that have been ſuppos'd to be the moſt clearly perceiv'd, and moſt agreeably to the nature of things. The great difficulty is, in diſcovering that Conformity,

formity, or in clearing and distinguish-
ing our thoughts; for every Man's
Ideas are clear to himself.

It would be lookt upon as an omis-
on to pass by the *Art of thinking* supp-
sed to be writ by *M. Arnault* (*q*); The be-
part of it must be own'd to be borrow'
from *Aristotle*, only by cloathi
old *Terms*, under new *Ideas*, wh
shows that it is not so easie to fram
new Logic as a new Philosophy, a
gives a ground of suspicion, that th
Philosophy is not at perfect amity wi
reason, otherwise they might mo
easily be adapted to one another. O
thing upon which this Author valu
himself is, his substituting useful I
stances, in the place of those triv
common ones formerly in use with
old Logicians, which he makes an o-
jection to the old way: But can it
an objection to any thing, that it
suited to the end, for which it was d
sign'd? the use of Instances is to illustra
and explain a difficulty, and this end
best answered by such Instances as are f
miliar and common: whereas the Instan-
ces which this Man brings, are usuall
taken from other Sciences, and suppos
Men to be wise already, contrary t
th

(*q*) *L' Art de pens. Par.* 68.

the intention of Logic, which is only an introduction to other Sciences, and being fitted for Beginners, ſuppoſeth our knowledge to be yet weak, and is deſign'd for an Inſtrument to help us forward. And yet there is a worſe objection againſt his Inſtances, that many of them being borrow'd from an unſound and corrupt Divinity, they can hardly be read by Beginners without danger of being corrupted: For ſuch falſe Opinions were never more contagious, than when they are held forth to us under ſuch plauſible appearances, nor are their impreſſions ever like to be more laſting, than when they are ſuckt in with the principles of Reaſon. I will not ſay, that theſe opinions are ſown there on purpoſe, that they might grow up with our Reaſon, but where ſo much Divinity is mixt with our Logic, it is very ſuſpicious that it has a meaning.

The laſt Syſteme of Logic that I have met with, is the *Medicina Mentis* which has been eſteemed the Beſt, and, for ought I know, may maintain that Character till a new one appears: It is not ſafe to cenſure an Author of ſo eſtabliſh'd a reputation, only thus much a

Man

Man may venture to ſay, That it ſeem
to be too ſtrong Phyſic for moſt men'
Conſtitutions, and it looks ſo like
Mountebank to boaſt of Infallible Cur
(r) that I could not but have a leſs
pinion of this Author. He makes lig
account of the former Logicians; a
Perception which was thought to be
clear a mark of truth, is ſhown by h
to be often the effect of Imagination,
and therefore he fetcheth his *Criter*
higher, which he placeth in *Conceptio*
or a yet higher degree of Cogitatio
But whether knowledge be grounded
Perception or *Conception* ſeems not ve
material, provided they could ſhow
the way, how to find it: This is wh
we deſire; and the telling us, we muſt
ſent to nothing, of which we have n
a *Conception*, does not ſeem to furth
our ſearch over much. It ſerves we
to another purpoſe, to ſhow us th
ſhortneſs of our Reach, for if me mu
aſſent to nothing without *Conceptio*
we muſt needs know very little
there being few things, that we co
ceive perfectly. I am apt to think
Mr. *T.* has borrow'd ſome hints from
this Author, tho he has apply'd them
to purpoſes, the Author never meant,

(r) *Medicin. Ment. Praf.*

(ſ) *Ib. Par.* 2. *p.* 43.

and

and indeed flatly disavows: For the Author seems to mean well, only is too fanciful a Man, to make an extraordinary Logician, and whoever reads his *Medicina Corporis* will be confirmed in this opinion: If his Rules of Reason be not better suited to the mind, than his Rules for Health are fitted for our Bodies, he is not like to be much follow'd.

CHAP. VI.

Of Moral Philoſophy.

MOrality may be conſider'd two ways, as an Habit, or a Rule, either as it is in us, or as an Art for the conduct of Life and a Doctrine of Manners: In both reſpects, it is very imperfect, if conſider'd only in its own ſtrength, and without the aſſiſtances of Revelation; Philoſophy being as unable to give Rules, as nature is to practiſe them. Moſt of the Philoſophers and ſome of groſſer capacities were ſenſible of this, they were ſo far bewildred in their ſearch after happineſs, as to be able to perceive their own wanderings, and could feel the diſorders of their nature; But how to return into the way, or remedy theſe diſorders was beyond their power.

Socrates

Socrates was the first, who, after the Philosophers had tir'd themselves out in the search of nature, with little success, observing the great uncertainties and vanity of such enquiries, brought down Philosophy from fruitless Speculations, to the uses of Life: His opinions in Morality were clearer and much better grounded, than those of most of the succeeding Sects; having had truer notitions of God, of the Immortality of the Soul and future Rewards, than the rest had, without which, all virtue is a floating unstable thing, wanting both its due end and sufficient foundation. But though he was clearer than most of the rest were, yet he expresseth himself too doubtfully, to be depended on: Most of his Philosophy is in broken Sentences, deliver'd with much doubtfulness, and his dying words are well known, when he had least to fear, which are so full of Diffidence, that they can give little encouragement to others to follow him. He proposeth his sense, as a probable opinion, of the truth whereof, he had conceiv'd good hopes, from its agreeableness with the Divine Goodness, and the order of Providence; rather than built upon such solid Principles, as would give assurance, and bear

Men up in the discharge of their duty, where it meets with Reproaches and Discouragements, the usual attendants of Vertue.

Plato does little more than Copy from his Master, and being aw'd by his hard Fate, speaks yet with more reserve: his most Divine Dialogue, is chiefly a relation of *Socrates*'s opinions, and an account of the discourses he had with his Scholars, sometime before he dy'd (*t*) And both the *Socratic* and *Platonic* way having been enemies to dogmatizing and rather doubting and denying than asserting any thing; we are not to expect certainty, where it is not pretended to.

(*t*) V. Plato. Phædon.

Aristotle is more noted for his order in bringing Morality into Systeme, by treating of Happiness under Heads; and ranging it in Classes according to its different objects, and destinguishing vertues into their several kinds, which had not been handled Systematically before, than for any real improvement he made in this sort of knowledge: which was a diviner thing in *Plato*'s Dialogues although only lax and moral Discourses than it was under all the advantages that *Aristotle* could give it, by reducing it into order; whilst he wanted the

only

only thing, that could render it amiable.

As for the rest of the Philosophers, they generally go upon false Principles, That Sect of them, which was strictest in its institution, and pretended to the greatest perfection, the *Stoics*, were more extravagant than most others were: Their Rule was to live up to Nature, which as they understood it, was to divest themselves of Humanity; for that was to be laid aside, and an absolute unconcernedness to be embrac'd, in order to the happiness, they were to be possess'd of: Their wiseman was to be Rich and Powerful, and every way Happy in the midst of Torments: All good with them was equal and alike, only their wiseman was somewhat above the Gods (*u*). In short their Philosophy was all Paradox, it made a great show, and dazled those that look'd no farther than appearance, but was nothing more at the bottom, than an Ostentation of Wisdom.

(*u*) V. Senec. Ep. 53. *Ut aliquid quo Sapiens antecedat Deum.*

It were tedious to recount the various opinions of the Heathen Moralists, which in a short compass of time, were grown so numerous, that it gave occasion to the *Sceptics*, to dispute the Truth of all, and to assert that there was nothing

thing true or falſe, good or evil; and conſequently to place their happineſs in a perfect *indifference*, an ἀταραξία in the underſtanding, and μετριοπάθεια in the will (*x*). This was to go beyond the *Stoics*, who, as they could feel no pain, ſo theſe Romantic Heroes could taſte Happineſs, without being affected with pleaſure. Their Maſter *Pyrron*, who flouriſhed about the time of *Zeno*, was ſo ſtruck with this Principle, that if a Chariot or wild Beaſt came in his way, he ſcorn'd to turn aſide, and muſt often have periſhed, had he not been preſerv'd by his friends. He was beſt anſwer'd by the Dog in *Diogenes Laertius* (*y*) which coming upon him by ſurpriſe, ere the Philoſopher had time to conſider, made nature ſtart back, and the Philoſopher confeſs, that ſuch imaginary principles will not hold.

(*x*) *V. Sext. Empiric. l. 1. c. 12.*

(*y*) *Lib. 9. in Vit. Pyrron.*

In *Varro*'s time the different opinions were ſo extravagantly multiply'd, that in his Book of Philoſophy (*z*), he reckons up two hundred and eighty eight ſeveral opinions, only concerning the *Summum Bonum*. And if the difference were ſo great concerning the ultimate end, which all men deſire, and in which, if any thing, the common ſenſe of mankind ſhould ſeem to agree; we may eaſily imagine

(*z*) *V. Aug. de Civ. Dei l. 19. c. 1.*

imagine what agreement there was, in other leſs ends and particular Duties. I need not ſhow it, it is a common Theme, and may be ſeen in every Treatiſe of morality.

But tho morality may have been very imperfect amongſt the Philoſophers, it is otherwiſe, I ſuppoſe, with us, who have better light and a ſurer Rule for our direction, than they had: It is true it is ſo, whilſt we keep to our Rule, but when we forſake that, we go aſtray like other Men. Our modern Caſuiſts, eſpecially the Jeſuits, afford too clear an evidence of this, who by ſtarting nice Caſes and philoſophizing upon them, have brought us back in ſome things to the ſtate of Philoſophers; they have already given us a new Notion of Philoſophical Sin, which as ſtated by them, has no ſuch ſting in it, as to deter moſt Men from its Commiſſion: Their Theſes are printed, that were to be maintain'd by the Jeſuits at *Dijon*, the firſt of which is, *Peccatum Philoſophicum ſeu morale, eſt Actus humanus diſconveniens naturæ Rationali & Rectæ Rationi; Theologicum vero & mortale eſt tranſgreſſio liberæ legis Divinæ: Philoſophicum quantumvis grave, in illo qui Deum vel ignorat, vel de Deo actu non cogitat, eſt grave Peccatum, ſed*

non eſt offenſa Dei, neque Peccatum mortale diſſolvens amicitiam Dei, neque æternâ pœnâ dignum: A Theſis indeed very favourable to the Heathen Philoſophers, but impoſſible to be reconcil'd to the Principles of the Goſpel. It has been reprinted at the *Hague* (*a*), and ſufficiently anſwer'd and expos'd by a good hand, tho nothing can expoſe it more, than naming it.

(*a*) *Nouv. Her. dans la moral. A la Haye* 89.

This is only one of their Caſuiſtical Deciſions, a large Collection of which may be had in the *Jeſuits Morals* (*b*), which as repreſented by a Doctor of the *Sorbonn*, and he quotes their own licenſed Authors, is ſuch a Syſtem of morality, as the Heathen Philoſophers would bluſh to own. According to the Doctrine of that *Morale*, how many ſins are there, that may be committed, and what duties that may not be evaded in ſome degree, or under ſome diſtinction? Their one Doctrine of *Probability*, is a ground of as much liberty, as an ordinary ſinner can deſire; for if a Man may act upon a probable opinion, and an opinion becomes then probable, when it is ſupported by one Reaſon, or maintained only by one Doctor (*c*), I will venture to affirm, there are few things ſo hard in morality, that have

(*b*) *Morale des Jeſ. Amonſ.* 1667.

(*c*) *V. moral. p.* 148, 158.

have been defended by the looſeſt Moraliſts, that have not been maintain'd by ſome of the Jeſuits, as cited in that Book. And yet this is not the utmoſt liberty, theſe nice Caſuiſts and Indulgent Fathers have allow'd; they go farther, and where there are two probable opinions, a man may act upon that which is leſs probable, nay he may venture upon an opinion that is only probably probable; which is certainly as low a degree of probability, as can well be imagin'd; and I do not ſee, how they can go lower, unleſs they would allow a man to act upon an opinion that is improbable.

It might have been expected, that where ſo many hard opinions have been charg'd upon the Jeſuits, as have been produc'd in the *Jeſuits Morals*, they ſhould ſay ſomewhat in their own defence: Somewhat indeed they have ſaid, and one of the Pleas they inſiſt upon moſt is, that many of the ſame opinions are maintain'd by the Scholemen, ſome of whom were canoniz'd, and their Books generally receiv'd in the Church of *Rome*: But whatever opinion they may have of ſuch a defence, it is nothing to us, who bring the ſame charge againſt the Scholemen, that we do

do againſt the Jeſuits, as far as they maintain the ſame opinions, and we think them the more dangerous, if they have not only been defended by Jeſuits but by ſuch men, as by having been receiv'd into the Catalogue of Romiſh Saints, have in a manner canoniz'd their opinions, by being canoniz'd themſelves, and made their Church in ſome meaſure anſwerable for them: Tho to do that Church right, others of her Members have taken offence at ſuch Doctrines, particularly the *Janſeniſts* and among the Benedictines, Father *Mabillon*, tho otherwiſe reſerv'd enough in his Cenſures, yet where ſuch looſe Caſuiſts come in his way, cannot forbear giving them a laſh, and declaring it his opinion, that a Man may read *Tully*'s *Offices* with more profit than he can do certain Caſuiſts (*d*): which this ſmart enough, as coming from a modeſt humble Man, yet another Frenchman has ſaid a ſeverer thing, where he defines morality as treated by the Caſuiſts, *L' art de chichaner avec Dieu*, and indeed in their way of handling it looks liker an Art to eaſe men from the Burthen of rigorous Precepts, by ſhowing them the utmoſt bounds they may go without Sin, than what it ſhould be,

(*d*) *Etud. monaſt. Par.* 2. c. 7.

be, a direction for the Eaſe of tender Conſciences, by ſhewing men their duty in particular Caſes.

To ſpeak the whole matter in one word, a good Conſcience and an upright Man will ſee his duty with only a moderate ſhare of Caſuiſtical skill, but into a perverſe heart, this ſort of wiſdom enters not: It is uſually ſome luſt to be gratified or danger to be avoided, which perverts the Judgment in practical Duties, but were men as much affraid of ſin as they are of danger, there would be few occaſions of conſulting our Caſuiſts.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Of Natural Philoſophy.

PHyſical knowledge taking in the whole Compaſs of Nature, is too vaſt a Subject to be comprehended by humane mind; it is an unexhauſtible Mine, wherein we may always dig and yet never come at the bottom: For tho the things it treats of be material objects, and as ſuch ſenſible and eaſie, yet when we come to treat of them in a Philoſophical manner, they ſhun our ſenſe, and are liable to equal difficulties with nicer matters. There is nothing more common in nature, than matter and motion, or more eaſily diſtinguiſh'd, but then we muſt underſtand them to be ſo only in their groſſer meaning, for if we ſpeak of ſubtle matter and *inteſtine* motion, they eſcape the niceſt ſcrutiny of Senſe: And yet theſe are the ſecret Springs of moſt of the operations in nature, and as for groſs matter

and

and visible motion, they are rather of mechanical consideration. A Philosopher's business is to trace Nature in her inward Recesses and Latent motions, and how hid these are, is best known to those, who are most conversant in Philosophical Enquiries: Such men by looking deep into her, and observing her in all her windings and mazes, find matter enough for Wonder, and reason to adore the Wisdom of God, but at the same time only meet with mortification to their own Wisdom and are forc'd to confess, that the ways of Nature like those of God, are past Man's finding out.

Aristotle who has gone so far in his rational Enquiries, has given us little insight into Physical Truths; for having fram'd a Body of Physics out of his own Head, all the various *Phænomena* of Nature were to be suited to his Philosophy, instead of his Philosophy's being drawn from Observations in Nature: His reasoning which did well in Logics, was somewhat out of place, and misguided him here, where he was rather to be led by Observation; and where he does make observations they are usually unphilosophical, and such as few men could be ignorant of: His four Elements

lements are groſs things, and leave th
underſtanding at the ſame pitch wher
it was, and his three Principles do no
advance it much higher; his firſt Prin
ciple as he has explain'd it, is unintell
gible, and the laſt of the three is n
Principle at all, unleſs we will allow
that for one Principle, that is deſtructiv
of another: He tells us, that all know
ledge is to be deriv'd from the Senſe
and yet preſently forſakes that, and flie
to Reaſon. But his Philoſophy is enoug
decry'd already, and needs not b
brought lower than it is.

I need not here reckon up the opin
ons of other Ancient Philoſophers; mo
of them have been reviv'd, and hav
been again confuted, and have dy'd th
ſecond time in our own Age: The opi
nion of *Thales* and the *Ionic* Sect, i
making Water the Principle of all things
has been reviv'd by thoſe, who have at
tempted to explicate a Deluge from ſuch
an Original: And the opinion of *Pytha
goras* and the *Italic* Sect, in placing
the Sun in the Center of the world, and
aſcribing motion to the Earth, has been
maintain'd a-new by *Copernicus* and his
Followers; and tho *Tranſmigration* of
Souls be one of *Pythagoras*'s hardeſt ſay
ings, yet it has found a Patron of late in

a Countryman of our own (*e*), who has maintain'd it in a qualifi'd Senſe, which perhaps was as much as *Pythagoras* meant. An *Anima Mundi*, Præ-exiſtence of Souls, with the reſt of *Plato*'s opinions, have found a ſtrong party in their defence; and many other late opinions, which have little in them, except their novelty to recommend them to the world, do really want that too, and might be eaſily ſhown, to be only the Spawn of the Ancient Philoſophers; by whom as there is nothing ſo abſurd, that has not been ſaid, ſo they have ſcarce ſaid any thing ſo extravagant, wherein they have not been follow'd.

(*e*) *Mr. Bulſtrode.*

But among all the ancient opinions, none have been reviv'd with more general approbation, than thoſe of *Democritus* and *Epicurus*, the Founders of the Atomical or Corpuſcular Philoſophy; an ill omen to Religion, when they who have explicated the production of the world, by the Laws of Mechaniſm without a God, have been ſo generally follow'd. In this *M. Des Cartes* has been too ſucceſsful, whom tho' it would be very unjuſt to charge with the denial of a God, whom he ſuppoſeth to have created matter, and to have impreſſed the firſt

firſt motion upon it, yet in this he is blameable, that after the firſt motion is impreſs'd, and the wheels ſet a going, he leaves this vaſt Machine, to the Laws of Mechaniſm, and ſuppoſes that all things may be thereby produc'd without any further extrordinary aſſiſtance from the firſt impreſſor. The ſuppoſition is impious, and as he ſtates it deſtructive of it ſelf; for not to deny him his Laws of motion, moſt of which have been evidently ſhown to be falſe, and conſequently ſo muſt all be that is built upon them, his Notion of Matter is inconſiſtent with any motion at all, for as Space and Matter are with him the ſame, upon this ſuppoſition there can be no *vacuum*, and there can be no motion of a *Plenum*: Motion is only the ſucceſſion of Bodies from one place to another, but how ſhould they ſucceed from one place, if there be no room to receive them in the next, which there cannot be, if all be full? And the difficulty is ſtill greater upon the firſt framing of things, before the ſubtile matter is produc'd, that was to ſuit it ſelf, to all the little Interſtices, betwixt the larger ſolid Bodies, which muſt needs clog and interfere with one another, unleſs we will allow ſome fluid matter, that will

will yeild and give way to the other's motions. *M. Des Cartes* imagines he answers all this, by a succession of Bodies in a Circular Motion; but I think this Motion carries its own Confutation with it, and that nothing can be suppos'd more absurd, than to imagin, that upon the motion of every little Atome, the whole frame of things must be disturb'd and set a going. Motion is one of *M. Des Cartes*'s darling Principles, and by this and matter, he pretends to solve the greatest difficulties, that are in Nature, and it is very remarkable, that he has not fail'd more in any of his Notions, than in these two great Fundamentals of his Philosophy, for allowing him these, his other explications hang together somewhat better. But this it is to frame *Hypotheses* out of one's own imagination, without consulting Nature, which *M. Des Cartes* has not done, for it was equal to him, what *Hypotheses* he went upon, and had Father *Mersennus* (*f*) told him, that a *vacuum* was as much in fashion, and as agreeable to the taste of the Age, as a *Plenum* then seem'd to be, we should have had an *Hypothesis* grounded upon a *vacuum*, and no doubt as specious and plausible, as that we now have; perhaps more plau-

(*f*) *V. Rivin. Reflex.* p. 423

firſt motion upon it, yet in this he is blameable, that after the firſt motion is impreſs'd, and the wheels ſet a going, he leaves this vaſt Machine, to the Laws of Mechaniſm, and ſuppoſeth that all things may be thereby produc'd without any further extrordinary aſſiſtance from the firſt impreſſor. The ſuppoſition is impious, and as he ſtates it deſtructive of it ſelf; for not to deny him his Laws of motion, moſt of which have been evidently ſhown to be falſe, and conſequently ſo muſt all be that is built upon them, his Notion of Matter is inconſiſtent with any motion at all, for as Space and Matter are with him the ſame, upon this ſuppoſition there can be no *vacuum*, and there can be no motion of a *Plenum*: Motion is only the ſucceſſion of Bodies from one place to another, but how ſhould they ſucceed from one place, if there be no room to receive them in the next, which there can not be, if all be full? And the difficulty is ſtill greater upon the firſt framing of things, before the ſubtile matter is produc'd, that was to ſuit it ſelf, to all the little Interſtices, betwixt the larger ſolid Bodies, which muſt needs clog and interfere with one another, unleſs we will allow ſome fluid matter, that will

will yeild and give way to the other's motions. *M. Des Cartes* imagines he answers all this, by a succession of Bodies in a Circular Motion; but I think this Motion carries its own Confutation with it, and that nothing can be suppos'd more absurd, than to imagin, that upon the motion of every little Atome, the whole frame of things must be disturb'd and set a going. Motion is one of *M. Des Cartes*'s darling Principles, and by this and matter, he pretends to solve the greatest difficulties, that are in Nature, and it is very remarkable, that he has not fail'd more in any of his Notions, than in these two great Fundamentals of his Philosophy, for allowing him these, his other explications hang together somewhat better. But this it is to frame *Hypotheses* out of one's own imagination, without consulting Nature, which *M. Des Cartes* has not done, for it was equal to him, what *Hypotheses* he went upon, and had Father *Mersennus* (*f*) told him, that a *vacuum* was as much in fashion, and as agreeable to the taste of the Age, as a *Plenum* then seem'd to be, we should have had an *Hypothesis* grounded upon a *vacuum*, and no doubt as specious and plausible, as that we now have; perhaps more plau-

(*f*) *V. Rivin. Reflex.* p. 423.

ſible, being more conſonant to his own Senſe, as having been his firſt deſign, and the other only hammer'd out by the direction of his confident *Merſennus*: And it is a wonderful thing, that men ſhould run mad after ſuch an *Hypotheſis*, which, as it has not the leaſt ground in Nature, ſo the Author himſelf never believ'd it. It has been anſwer'd and effectually confuted in all its Branches, by ſeveral hands, but by none better, than by the Author of, *A Voyage to the World of Des Cartes*, which tho not always concluſive, is every where ingenious, and confutes him in his own way, for one Romance is beſt anſwer'd by another.

But we have been taught to diſtinguiſh betwixt *Hypotheſes* and *Theories*, the latter of which are ſuppoſed things, as being built upon Obſervations in Nature, whereas Hypotheſes may be only Chimæraes: I ſhould be glad to ſee that *Theory*, that is built upon ſuch Obſervations. The moſt plauſible *Theory* I have yet met with, is only built upon an Hypotheſis, to wit, the Incruſtation of the Earth, and the cracking of its *Cortex*, the very ſame we have been ſpeaking of, and how this *Theory* ſhould be more certain, than the Hypotheſis it goes

goes upon, is paſt my underſtanding. Thus much I believe may be ſaid of all our *Theories*, That, however natural they may ſeem at firſt view, they have always ſome mark in nature ſet upon them, to diſcover them to be falſe: Thus *Dr. B*'s *Theory*, of the Incruſtation of the Earth is very ingenious, but then there is no ſufficient proviſion made, for Antidiluvian Waters, much leſs for Springs and Rivers, which can neither be generated, nor flow in Streams without Mountains. Mr. *W*'s *Theory*, ſhows a vaſt reach and depth in this Contrivance, both in his accounting for the formation of things, and in his Explication of a Deluge; But his Paradiſiacal days are ſo long, by his allowing only an annual motion to the Sun in that State, as to exceed all belief; and tho he makes a tolerable ſhift; to ſupply us with ſuch ſtores of waters, from the *Atmoſphære* of a Comet, as might occaſion a Deluge, yet it is impoſſible for him to carry them of again after the occaſion is over; and for ought I can ſee, they muſt have continu'd with us, till the return of his Comet. And tho *Dr. W*s *Theory* be very natural and ſo pious as to incline a good man to wiſh it true, yet I am afraid, the Dr. will never

be able to prove it ſo, for want (amongſt other things,) of ſuch an univerſal *Menſtrum* as ſhall diſſolve all things except his Shells. So that whatever differences may be alledg'd betwixt *Hypotheſes* and *Theories*, they are much upon the ſame level, as to any real light they have yet afforded to Nature, and one great difference ſeems to be this, that the former are only modeſtly propos'd, whereas Theories are uſher'd in with greater aſſurance. It is well if *Theories* be not as much out of faſhion in the next Age, as Hypotheſes are in this; for ſo many Obſervations and Experiments are requir'd to raiſe a Theory that I deſpair of ever ſeeing a good One.

When I ſpeak of Obſervations and Experiments, I would not be thought to under-vale a Society, which has been erected to that purpoſe, and whoſe endeavours have been ſo ſucceſsful that way already: But however ſucceſsful they may have been, thoſe excellent Perſons have more modeſty, than to over-rate their own performances, and nothing has done them more injury than the vanity of ſome few men, who have been ſo *Planet-ſtruck*, as to dream of the poſſibility of a Voyage to the Moon, and to talk of making wings to fly

fly thither, as they would of buying a pair of Boots to take a journey (g). The Genuine Members of that Society have other thoughts of things, being far from any hopes of mastering Nature, or of ever making such progress, as not to leave work enough, for other men to do. One of their number, a great glory of their Society, after he had grown old in these Studies, learnt Modesty and diffiding thereby, and was never more reserv'd, than in his full growth and maturity of Knowledge, when he had least reason to be so. And another Incomperable Person, who has added Mathematic skill to his Observation upon Nature; after the nicest Enquiry, seems to resolve all into *Attraction*, which, tho it may be true and pious withal, perhaps will not be thought so Philosophical.

(g) *Mr. C^t Sect. Sc. p.* 134.

The truth of it is we may as well rest there, for after all, Gravitation was never yet solv'd, and possibly, never may, and after men have spent a thousand years longer in these Enquiries, they may perhaps sit down at last under *Attraction*, or may be content to resolve all into the Power or Providence of God. And might not that be done as well now? We know little of the causes

cauſes of things, but may ſee wiſdom enough in every thing; and could we be content to ſpend as much time in contemplating the wiſe ends of Provi-, as we do in ſearching into Cau- would certainly make us better , and I am apt to think, no worſe loſophers. For tho Final Cauſes ve been ſo much baniſh'd from our modren Phyſics, yet nothing is more to the purpoſe, or more eaſie to be underſtood. Whereas Cauſes are yet Latent; and it is very remarkable, that the very lait Author, (*h*) that has gi, n us a Syſtem of Phyſics, after all the Diſcoveries that have been talk'd of, and Improvements that have been made in Nature, has been forc'd to proceed in an *Analytical* method, for want of Principles to go upon, and inſtead of demonſtrating Effects from the Cauſes, has been forc'd to trace the Cauſes of things from their Effects: which tho it be ſome Argument of the Author's Modeſty, yet I do not ſpeak it to commend his performances, for his Phyſics are like his other Works, faulty enough.

CHAP.

CHAP V.

Of Aſtronomy.

THE *Chaldæans* were the firſt, (unleſs you will except the *Chineſe*) that we meet with in Prophane Story (*i*), that made Obſervations upon the Stars: Two reaſons might incline them to this, Firſt, the evenneſs of their Country, which afforded a free and open proſpect; and next the opinion they had of the Stars, whom eſteeming as Gods, it muſt have been a part of their Religion to look up to Heaven and obſerve them. But then their Obſervations were principally Aſtrological, they did not ſo much meaſure the Heavens, as fetch their directions from thence, and were more concern'd for the influences of the Stars, than their Motions: So that tho Aſtrology were at its full Height amongſt the *Chaldæans*, yet Aſtronomy never ſeems to have arriv'd at any maturity. The ſame may be ſaid of moſt of the

(*i*) *Cicer. de Divin. l.* 1. *p.* 1.

Eastern People; even the *Chinese*, after they have made Observations upon the Stars above four Thousand years, yet have made so little progress in Astronomy, that upon the arrival of the *Missionaries*, their Mathematicians could not compose a perfect Calendar (*k*).

(*k*) *Le Compt. nouv. Memoir. Let.* 3. *p.* 100.

The two *Hypotheses* of *Ptolemy* and *Copernicus* will take in most of what needs be said on this Subject; for as to that of *Tycho Brahe*, as it is in a great measure compounded of these two, and seems design'd to account for difficulties, in both these Hypotheses, so it is lyable to several Objections in them both.

The *Ptolemaic* Hypothesis has too much appearance of Art, to be esteemed natural, all its *Epicycles* and *Eccentrics* and other *Ambages* can never be thought the Contrivance of Nature, which acts in a more simple manner, without going so far about; those solid Sphæres which it supposes have been shatter'd and overturn'd by the Modren Philosophers, and shown to be inconsistent both with the *Trajection* of Comets, and with that equal light, which is convey'd to us from the Planets and other Stars, which by passing through such different *Mediums* and Solid Bodies must

muſt have ſuffer'd innumerable Refractions: Several of the Phænomena of the Heavens admit of no tolerable ſolution this way, particularly thoſe of *Mercury* and *Venus*. and the Acceſs and Receſs of the Polar Star to and from the Pole, which in the time of *Hipparchus* was diſtant from it 12 Degrees, but is not now fully three, and in proceſs of time will recede from it again more than ever; and the many different and likewiſe oppoite motions of the Stars and Sphæres are not eaſily conceiv'd. But nothing is ſo inconceivable as the velocity of their motion, for upon this Hypotheſis they muſt be ſuppos'd to move ſome thouſand Miles in a Minute, which tho it may be conceiv'd by Philoſophers, is not very obvious to common underſtandings. Such are the Objections that have been commonly brought againſt this Hypotheſis, which have rendred it ſo hard of digeſtion, and tho nothing can excuſe the hard ſaying of that Profane King (*l*) ſo well known and ſo often quoted, yet it may be ſo far mollifi'd, that having been level'd againſt this *Hypotheſis*, he did not thereby pretend to correct the Works of God Almighty, only did not believe them to have been fram'd

(*l*) *Alphonſus of Caſtile.*

fram'd in such a manner by God, as *Ptolemy* has describ'd.

The *Copernican Hypothesis* values it self upon its easiness, and the great Compendiousness of the way it goes in: But tho it accounts for appearances more Compendiously than the other does, and without that vast *Apparatus*, that is required in the *Ptolemaic* Hypothesis, yet it contains things as incomprehensible as the other does: For as the celerity of Motion in the former exceeds all belief, so the Regularity of Motion is unfathomable in this. The Motion of the Earth is of hard enough digestion in it self, but supposing it to move in a fluid *Medium*, who is there that can imagine, that it should be so regular and uniform as it is? The fluid with which it is environ'd and in which it moves, is unstable and mutable, consisting of little Bodies, that are always altering their position to one another, and changing their shapes by constant and mutual Attrition, and yet tho the Ambient Fluid be always altering, the motion is the same. It describes our days by its Diurnal Motion upon its own Axis, our years by its Annual Revolution, and our Seasons by that and its Inclination, and all these

these so regularly, as not to vary in so many Successions of Ages, and yet we must believe that this Constancy and Regularity is maintained by fluctuating matter, the most unstable thing in the world. The exactest Movements or Machines, that humane wit can frame, are Subject to innumerable disorders, either from the breaking of the Spring of their Motion, or wearing of their wheels, or some other external impulse or inward decay, and therefore always want our care, either to set them right, or keep them in order; only this vast Machine and Frame of things, preserves its Course, and never varys, tho acted in appearance by the most unconstant Causes. A man that well considers this, will be inclin'd to entertain a more favourable opinion of the Ancient Philosophers, and tho he cannot believe the Heavens to be turn'd and acted by *Intelligences*, yet he will find it almost as hard to apprehend, how they move without them: whatever become of Intelligengences, an Intelligent Being must of necessity be taken in, without which our Philosophy will be very unable to do the business.

There

There is another difficulty in this Hypotheſis, which the *Copernicans* cannot eaſily get over, and which will perplex any man's underſtanding that well conſiders it: That the Earth is only a point in reſpect to the Univerſe, that it be a pretty large *Poſtulatum*, yet poſſibly muſt be granted upon any Hypotheſis; but that not only the Earth but the whole *Magnus Orbis*, or that vaſt Orbit which the Earth deſcribes round the Sun ſhould be eſteem'd a point (without which ſuppoſition the *Copernican* Hypotheſis cannot be maintain'd) is ſuch a *Poſtulatum* in Aſtronomy, as the more a man thinks of, the leſs eaſily he can aſſent to. For what is this *Magnus Orbis* or vaſt Circle which muſt be eſteem'd as a point? To take only the Semidiameter of this Circle, or about the ſixth part of the whole, *Hugenius* (o) no incompotent Judge of theſe matters has calculated the diſtance betwixt the Earth and the Sun to be about 17 Million German Miles; or in other words, that ſuppoſing a Bullet ſhot from a Gun could retain always the ſame velocity, it had at its firſt diſcharge, with this ſwiftneſs in about twenty five years, it would paſs from the Earth to the Sun: All which immenſe diſtance is about a ſixth part

(o) *Coſmotheor. p.* 124.

part of *Copericus*'s point. It is true *Hugenius* assigns a proportionable distance (if there can be any proportion in such an immemsity) to the fix'd Stars; for this Bullet being shot again, with the same swiftness, he (n) supposes, it might come at the nearest of the fixt Stars in about 700 years, which is such a distance as common apprehensions cannot reach, and will ever more require a Philosphers Understanding.

(n) *Ib. p.* 137.

In this vast compass, our Astronomers have discover'd new worlds (like that Sanguine Conqueror who was seeking out New Worlds before the old one was half subdu'd) every Planet must be a World and every Star must have its Planets: This Project was pursu'd by *M. Fontanelle* in a pleasing entertaining way, but has been embrac'd by others with greater seriousness. What these Worlds are, might as well be left undetermin'd, God having thought fit to say little of them, and having plac'd them beyond our reach; But if we may gueſs at the discoveries that are to be made in the remotest Stars, from those that have been made already in the nearest, the Moon, I do not think they will make any great addition to knowledge. It must be confest, that mighty discoveries

veries have been talkt of in that Planet *Hevelius* has given us its Geography and has markt out (*o*) every Mountain and Vally, Sea and River, as exactly as if he had been there, in his accurate Map of that World. *Ricciolus* (*p*) has gone a little farther, and has assign'd every Astronomer his proportion of ground; you may there meet with the Land of *Copernicus*, *Galilæus* and *Kepler*; and it is but just that they should have the benefit of their Invention. And the same Author to show his modesty has plac'd *Ricciolius* in the best and most Conspicuous spot of Ground in that World. But are these men in earnest? Or do we yet know where we are? That the Moon is an Opake Body is no new discovery, the nature of Eclipses has long since shewn it, and I am affraid it is little we yet know beyond this. For tho the Moon has been divided into Sea and Land, and the Division so much acknowledged, that a man's parts must have been suspected, that would have doubted of the thing; and tho the obscure parts of its Body, have been generally thought to be Watry, and the Lumirous parts, Earthy and Solid, yet this Division seems rather to be grounded upon an inference of Reason

(*o*) *Selenograph. p.* 226.

(*p*) *Almagest. p.* 204.

to wit, that the obſcure and watery parts imbibe the Light, whereas the Earthy Solid parts reflect it, than upon the experience of Senſe, aſſiſted by Glaſſes. Theſe Glaſſes indeed diſcover the difference betwixt the dark and Luminous parts much more clearly, than the naked eye can, but will never ſhow the nature of either, or what Subſtance they are of, much leſs diſtinguiſh the different portions of Earth and Water: But men come poſſeſs'd with an opinion of Seas and Rivers, and than eaſily think they ſee them (as every ſound does anſwer the tune that runs in our ears) and after one man has ſeen them, it is a reproach to the next, not to be as accute and diſtinguiſhing as he, and ſo we cheat one another into a tolerable agreement. That this is the Caſe I am verily perſwaded, for tho I can neither pretend to good eyes, nor good Glaſſes, and therefore will lay no weight upon my own opinion, yet *Hugenius* who had them in perfection, and who writ ſince theſe accurate Maps were taken, could neither obſerve Seas nor Rivers in the Moon, and expreſly denys, that any ſuch are to be ſeen there (*q*). And there is this reaſon beſides, that if any ſuch were, they muſt neceſſarily raiſe a mighty *Atmoſphere*,

(*q*) *Coſmotheor. p.* 114.

moſtphære, which, as it would hinder our clear proſpect at all times, ſo by its clouds, it would ſometimes darken one part of the Moons Body, and ſometimes another; whereas now the dark and Luminous parts are always the ſame: So that as far as I can ſee, we know little more of the Moon, than that it is an Opake and ſolid Body, and ſo much we were pretty well aſſur'd of, before *Teleſcopes* came in faſhion.

No doubt, Teleſcopes are a noble Invention, and the diſcovories that have been made by them are very conſiderable, but as to the diſcovering thereby the Nature and Subſtance of Heavenly Bodies, I look upon it as utterly impoſſible: And yet this is the modiſh way of framing new Worlds; we firſt obſerve Seas and Rivers, in the Moon, and if ſuch be there, there muſt be Plants that they water, and if Plants, there muſt be likewiſe Animals to feed upon them, and all theſe are deſign'd for the ſervice of men. The Reaſon is eaſily carry'd further, for if the Moon be a World, by parity of Reaſon, ſo muſt the other Planets be alſo, and if all the viſible Planets are carried about in the Vortex of the Sun, which is no better than the other Stars, no doubt, the other fix'd Stars, have their

their attending Planets, as well as the Sun, and ſo we have a Plurality of Worlds with a witneſs: But this chain of reaſoning is eaſily broken, by breaking its firſt Link, for if there be no Waters in the Moon, in conſequence of that, neither are there any Plants, or Animals, or Men, and if none of theſe be there, by parity of reaſon, neither are there any in the other Planets, and ſo the whole Chain falls to pieces.

Theſe World-mongers are always objecting the improbability of God's framing ſo many vaſt and glorious Bodies, only for the ſake of this Earth, ſo inconſiderable a portion of the whole: Amongſt the reſt *Hugenius*, who in one place makes this Objection, in another part of his Book, (*r*) as if he had forgot himſelf, thinks it enough to ſay, That God rais'd this mighty Frame of things, that he might contemplate and delight himſelf thereby; and were there no other reaſon, we ought to acquieſce in this: But they that argue thus, ſeem to meaſure things by their Bulk, which is a falſe way of reaſoning; there is more Beauty and Contrivance in the Structure of a humane Body, than there is in the Glorious Body of the Sun, and more perfection in our Rational immaterial Soul,

(*r*) *P.* 33.

than in the whole Mass of Matter, be it never so bulky. There cannot then be any absurdity in saying, that all things were created for the sake of this inferior World, and the Inhabitants thereof, and they that have such mean thoughts of it seem not to have consider'd, who he was that died to redeem it. Let them measure the World by that Standard, and they cannot undervalue it any longer, without some reproach to infinite Wisdom.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

Of Metaphyſics.

METaphyſics having ſo great an affinity with Logic, and being ſo interwoven with the Learning of the Scholes, I need ſay leſs of them in this place: They are ſtil'd by *Ariſtotle* Natural Theology, from whence we may be enabled to take ſome meaſures of them; for Natural Theology is in it ſelf a poor, weak thing, and Reaſon unaſſiſted has not been able to carry the cleareſt Philoſophers very far, in their purſuit after Divine Matters. We have ſeen this already in practical Truths, and the Reaſon lies ſtronger, in ſuch as are Speculative. And if we ſee ſo dimly in phyſical matters, which are nearer our Senſe, and in a manner expos'd to view, how much more muſt we be bewildred in our ſearch after Spiritual abſtracted Truths, in the conſideration of univerſals and of things of a Tranſcendental Nature, ſuch as fall properly under the conſideration of Metaphyſics? For tho metaphyſical Truths may be certain enough in their own nature, yet they are not uſually ſo to us, but being ab-

ſtruſe things, and laying deep and remote from Senſe, it is not every one that is capable of underſtanding them, and there are yet fewer that underſtand their true uſe. They are uſually under the Conduct of ſubtle Men, and theſe nice Profeſſors, inſtead of reſolving doubts, have ſpun out new difficulties, and fram'd Labyrinths, out of which they have ſcarce been able to diſentangle themſelves: So that Metaphyſics, which were at firſt only Natural Theology, are now become the moſt artificial thing in the World.

One need only dip into any Syſteme, to ſee how theſe men are plung'd in ſeting out, for whereas there are two things of principal conſideration in Metaphyſical Knowledge, its *Object* and *Affections*; and whereas Philoſophers are pretty well agreed about the Object of other Sciences, as that Quantity is the Object of Mathematics; and matter, of Phyſics, and ſo of the reſt; the Metaphyſicians have not come to any tolerable agreement about the Object of this Science, or *Sapience*, or whatever you will call it: *Suarez* produceth ſix different opinions, and himſelf brings the ſeventh, which is his own. And as to its Affections, they are again at a plunge-

to

to find out Affections different from *Being* (which ſeems to comprehend every thing) for if the *Affections* and *Subject* are the ſame, their Demonſtrations are Identical, and prove nothing. But theſe are dry Conſiderations.

What *Ariſtotle* has done upon this Subject, is much ſhort of a perfect Work, and is rather an Eſſay, than a Compleat Treatiſe, for tho he has left fourteen Books upon the Subject, yet they are looſe and indigeſted, (which was not uſual with *Ariſtotle*, where he has given his laſt hand) and the two laſt are ſo foreign to his deſign, and ſo unſuitable to the place they ſtand in, that ſome have thought fit, either to ſtrike them out of his Works, or to place them in a new order: And indeed his twelfth Book ſhould ſeem to be his laſt, which concludes with his Notion of God and Spiritual Beings; tho none of his Books are Divine enough, to give a true account of Natural Theology. It is plain he wants light in theſe matters, and neither knows where to fix, nor what to determine; which is one reaſon of the obſcurity of his Books of Meptaphyſics, for no Man can write clearer than he thinks. And therefore his Commentators have often tug'd in vain,

in labouring to make out a meaning, where possibly the Author himself was at a loss. If any Man could have understood him, *Avicen* had the best plea, who was as subtle a Philosopher and study'd him as much as perhaps any Man ever did; and yet after he had read his Metaphysics forty times over, and had them all by heart (which I will venture to say is more than ever any Man will do again) he was forc'd to lay them aside as unintelligible (*f*). In one thing I must do him right, that whereas he has been represented as too positive and Dogmatical in his opinions, it is the fault of his Followers, not his. He begins these Books in a very different manner: His third Book (for the two first are chiefly Prefatory) is taken up with doubts, and the Title of the first Chapter is, *The use of Doubting*, to do which well, he makes one mark of a Philosopher; and gives this reason, because unless a Man knows how to find out and state a difficulty, it is impossible to solve it, as a Man must see the folds and windings of a knot, before he can unty it. So that the Art of doubting is no new invention, having been known to *Aristotle*, as well as the Moderns, with this difference only, that he

(*f*) V. vit. Avicen. p. 3.

he does it more modeſtly, and is not ſo Sceptical, as the firſt mighty pretender to this way.

And becauſe we are come thus far, let us conſider this new method of knowledge by doubting, upon which our Modern Metaphyſics turn ſo much, and of which our new Philoſophers talk ſo loudly: For my part I can ſee no great uſe either of their doubting, or of the knowledge, it leads to. For what is it we muſt doubt of? Even of the moſt certain Truths in Nature, of the verity of our own Bodies, as whether we have Hands, Arms and Legs (*t*). And what is the firſt knowledge that reſults from this doubting? That ſince I doubt, I am; for that which doubts muſt it ſelf neceſſarily have a *Being*. Now allowing all this, I do not think we are much the wiſer, for had ever any Man real doubts of theſe matters? Or did ever any Man in his Wits queſtion the truth of his own *Being*? Such doubts and ſuch proofs are only fitted for melancholy Perſons, and I hope we are not Philoſophizing at this time a day, to yeild conviction to ſuch Men. Evident Truths and firſt Principles may be reaſonably ſuppos'd, and indeed they muſt be ſuppos'd, for they are not capable of

(*t*) *Cart. Princip. p.* 2. *Meditat.* 1.

proof, there being nothing clearer by which they may be prov'd; and for Men to offer at proof in such matters may make a pompous show, but is no real advancement of knowledge. The old way of proceeding upon allowed Principles seems to me more rational, than this method of questioning every thing, till we have unsetled the first grounds and foundations of Truth; and however useful doubting may be in Philosophical Enquiries, it ought always to suppose a ground, for a groundless doubt is so far irrational.

After our Philosopher has done with doubting, and has prov'd to us our own Existence, he brings us at last to the Being of a God, (*u*) in which a great part of his Metaphysics is spent; and I am so unwilling to weaken any proof to that purpose, that I shall pass it over: Only thus much may be inoffensively said, that his proof from the *Idea*, is the abstrusest and the least conclusive argument that has been brought; for tho constant and universal agreement in the Notion of a God, may be a good Argument to prove his Existence, and familiar enough to the weakest Capacities, yet this *Idea* as managed by our Author, is neither clear nor very conclusive: For what

(*u*) Medit. 3.

what is there of either, in the Objective Perfection or Reality of this *Idea*, being greater than the formal Perfection or Reality in the Mind, and therefore that this *Idea* cannot proceed from thence, but muſt have ſome Superior Cauſe to produce it? When after all this Objective Reality is nothing more than an operation of the Mind, or rather a mode of its operation, which is ſuch a Reality, as one would imagine, the Mind alone might be able to give it.

But this Philoſophers Metaphyſics are only Meditations, a Compleate Treatiſe was to be given us by his Followers; amongſt whom *M. Poiret*, I know not how has obtain'd a name; he has refin'd upon his Maſter, and is ſo full of thinking, that he has made Cogitation to be the ſubſtance of the Mind (*x*), and in purſuance of this, the Eſſence of God to be likewiſe Cogitation; which, with other odd opinions, will hardly recommend him to conſidering men. I always lookt upon *M. Poiret* as a *Phanatic* in Philoſophy, and have been confirm'd in my Opinion, by what has happen'd ſince; for as Phanaticiſm has no bounds, he has ſince (if he be the ſame Man) expreſs'd it in his Divinity, by licking

(*x*) *Cogitat. Rat. l. 2. c. 3. §.*

licking up the vomet, and adoring the Opinions of a silly Woman, of *whose Inspiration he is as well assur'd as of the Being of a God* (y); an expression which nothing but Enthusiasm, can excuse from Blasphemy. And therefore I have the more wondred to see a comparison form'd betwixt *Plato* and *M. Poiret*, which I could have wish'd had been let alone.

(y) *V. Bout. Dic. Nav. p. 10.*

I must rank *Mallebranch* in the same order, whose *Recherche* has furnish'd out such refin'd and abstracted Metaphysics, as if they were design'd for *Comprehensors*; he has exalted *Ideas* to their utmost Height, and because they bore not with them certainty enough, whilst they were barely operations of the mind, or representations from external Objects, he has plac'd them in a Subject that cannot err, to wit, in the Wisdom of God himself, whom having suppos'd to be the Place of Spirits, as Space is of Bodies, and that there is an intimate Union betwixt God and the Soul of Man, by attending to him, who is always presential to our minds, we are to see all things in this *Ideal* or Intelligible world (z). Now tho there can be no doubt, but God can lead us into all Truth, by displaying himself to us, and

(z) *Rech. l. 3. Par. 2. c. 6.*

and perhaps may deal thus with us when we are in Heaven, yet this way ſeems too Supernatural whilſt on Earth, and too clear for frail and weak Men, who are not yet to know by Viſion; and it is withal ſo like the inward Light of a New Sect of Men, as not to make it over reputable: To which purpoſe it is very remarkable, that *Mallebranch*'s Opinion, having been eſpous'd of late, by an Ingenious Perſon of our own, with all the advantages of Beauty of Style and Perſpicuity of Expreſſion, yet the Men of New Light have taken ſuch hold of it, as to make it neceſſary for him to write an Apology to diſengage himſelf from the *Quakers*, who would needs have it thought they had gain'd a Proſelyte (*a*): Wherein tho he has diſtinguiſh'd himſelf from theſe People, yet thus much he owns, *That if the Quakers underſtood their own Notion, and knew how to explain it, and into what Principles to reſolve it, it would not very much differ from his.* In another thing there is too great an agreement; that theſe Men of thought have too low a value for humane Learning, either as it lies in our common Books or in the Book of Nature, in reſpect of that light which diſplays it ſelf from the *Ideal* World, by at-

(*a*) *Conf. Hum. Lif. p.* 18.

attending to which, with pure and De-
fæcate Minds, they ſuppoſe Knowledge
to be moſt eaſily had. Experience and
Deductions have been formerly eſteemed
uſeful, but in this compendious way to
knowledge, provided we make our ap-
proaches, with our Souls purg'd and
with due preparation of Mind, there
needs little more than application and
attention. Indeed Prayer has been made
another Condition, which tho it be pro-
per and of good uſe upon all occaſions,
yet is not ſo pertinent here, where we
ſpeak only of natural means.

CHAR

CHAP. X.

Of History.

I Scarce ever met with any Hiſtorian, who does not write true Hiſtory, if you will take an account of him from his Preface, and not be too nice in examining his Book; the firſt pages are uſually fill'd with the Care and Integrity of the Author, which poſſibly, are to be found no where elſe: Thoſe who have taken moſt care, have been charg'd with ſome negligence, and all of them have been ſo far faulty, as to extort a Confeſſion from one of their number, wherein he fairly owns, That there is none of the Hiſtorians, that do not lye in ſome things (*b*). He names ſome of the moſt unexceptionable, and pretends to be able to make good his charge by unconteſtable proofs. Let us take a ſhort view.

(*b*) *Vopiſc. juxta init.* — *Neminem Scriptorum quantum ad Hiſtoriam pertinet, non aliquid eſſe mentitum.*

We

We have little considerable remains of Profane Antient Story, except what we have left us, by the *Greeks* and *Romans*; for as to the *Chaldæan* History of *Berosus*, and the *Ægyptian* of *Manetho*, they both writ since *Herodotus*, and we have only some Fragments of them left preserv'd by *Josephus*, *Eusebius*, &c. and the Books that go under these great names, are the impudent Forgeries of *Annius* of *Viterbo*. And as to *Sanchoniathon*, who has given us the *Phœnician* History, tho he pretends to be much more Ancient, yet his great Antiquity has been question'd by *Scaliger*, and his very Being, by Mr. *Dodwell*. So that those we are to depend on are the *Greeks* and *Romans*.

The Greeks as they have not been noted for their veracity in any respect, so their Truth and Integrity in this particular has been always so questionable, That *Græcia Mendax* has been stigmatiz'd in History: We have no tolerable account from them before the Olympiads, the times before these were the Mythic Ages, and are all Fable; and when the Historical age commenceth, our Accounts of things are not much better: For they having not originally had any Public Annals, or Registers of things, and amongst

them

their Ancient Authors, the Poets having had the first rank; we may easily imagine what sort of Accounts are to be expected from those men, who were either to follow uncertain Reports and Traditions, or what is much worse, to Copy the Poets. Accordingly their first Accounts were very loose, and rather Poems than Histories, which they have been charged with by the *Romans* pretty freely, and *Quinctilian* is so far from softning the matter; That he compares the liberty th y took to a Poetic Licence (*c*). But no Man has expos'd them so much as *Josephus* (*d*) has done. He tells them, *Their accounts of things are all novel, they have no Public and Authentic Annals, nor any Author more Ancient than* Homer, *and those do differ from one another, that* Hellanicus, *differs from* Acusilaus, *that* Acusilaus *corrects* Hesiod; *and* Hellanicus, Ephorus; *he again is corrected by* Timæus, *as* Timæus *is by others*; *and* Herodotus, *by all*: And yet this is that *Herodotus*, who has been styl'd the Father of History, tho he might with equal right be nam'd the Parent of Fable. I know what Apologies have been made for him, especially from late Voyages and Discoveries: But it is enough to say, he cannot be defended, and that those few

(*c*) *Instit. l.* 2. *c.* 4.
(*d*) *Contr. Appion. l.* 2.

few Instances, which have been brought, do rather show the Wit of his Apologists, than signifie much towards the redeeming the Credit of their Author; his mistakes are too numerous and too gross to to be accounted for, from some accidental agreement with Modern Discoveries.

It must be confest, some of the following Historians, have writ more cautiously, and in this the Children have exceeded their Father, particularly *Thucydides* who has been noted for his Accuracy and Care; but not to insist upon *Josephus*'s Authority, who has not exempted him from the common Censure, a great part of his History is taken up with large Speeches and Harangues, which had never any Existence, except in the imagination of his own Brain; and the rest of his Story is of too narrow extent, both as to times and place, to be of any considerable importance in the account of ancient times, of the darkness whereof he himself complains in the entrance of his Book. He who has done most and whose accounts are most extensive is *Diodorus Siculus*, taking his rise from the Original of things and describing the world in its full Latitude and extent; and let any one excuse him from

Fable,

Fable, and the Cause is yielded. His first five Books are almost a continued Fable, describing more ages, than the World has had duration, and such Nations as have had no Being; *Lucian's* True History has scarce any thing more incredible, than what may be met with in that Author. The best thing that can be urg'd in his excuse is, that he owns and confesseth the Charge, that is brought against him, Entitling his first Books, *Mythic History*, which in plain English is Fabulous. But this argument has been largely prosecuted by a learned Pen (*).

(*) Orig. Sacr. cap. 4.

Well but however fabulous the Græcians may have been, there may be more certainty in Roman Story: It is possible there may; and yet not near so much, as might be desir'd. The most compleat and only General History we have among them, is *Livy*, whose Genius has been thought to equal the Majesty of the People he describes: To pass by his *Patavinity*, which has been understood by some, of Partiality to his Country, and his long Orations, that are purely fiction; and Monstrous Prodigies, which are such vanities as only serve to amuse the weaker sort of People; his accounts of remote times are dim and blind, and for want

of ſufficient vouchers, are juſtly queſtionable. He himſelf deſcribes the firſt times, to the Foundation of *Rome*, as a Poetical Period, rather than grounded upon undoubted Monuments (*f*); and after the building of the City, he complains, that the uſe of Letters had been very rare, and conſequently little could be conſigned to writing, that therefore the memory of things was his beſt Guide, at leaſt ſo far, as to the burning of *Rome*, when moſt of their public Monuments did periſh with their City (*g*): which could they have been preſerv'd, yet they were ſo *jejune* and naked, that they could hardly furniſh out materials for a tolerable Hiſtory.

(*f*) *Lib.* 2. *p.* 1.

(*g*) *Lib.* 6. *p.* 1.

The firſt ground of the Roman Story is, the coming of *Æneas* into *Italy*, with this *Livy* begins his Book, and uſhers it in with tolerable aſſurance, and if any thing could be known among them, it muſt have been their own original, and yet this is ſo far from being allow'd, that *Strabo* (*h*) plainly ſhows, *Æneas* never ſtir'd out of *Troy*; and if *Homer*'s Authority be of any weight, it is plain, he did not only die there, but his Poſterity were to reign there in ſucceeding Ages (*i*). And that he never ſet foot in *Italy*, has been made evident to demonſtration,

(*h*) *Lib.* 13.

(*i*) *Iliad.* 20 *l.* 306.

in a late dissertation to that purpose (*k*). And yet notwithstanding what can be said against it, this was so receiv'd a Truth at *Rome*, that the ancient Families deriv'd from *Venus* and *Æneas*, and upon this reason, the People of *Troy* had Privileges and Immunities granted them by the Romans, especially by *J. Cæsar* who deriv'd from them. But this was an effect of partiality to their Country and of vanity, in being thought descended from Gods and Heroes, wherein with like reason, they have been since imitated by other Nations.

(*k*) *Sochart. Epist. num. Æneas unquam fuerit in Italiâ.*

The truth of it is, this partiality to their Nation does show it self in all their Historians; they represent themselves not only as the most Valiant People, but likewise as the most Just and Faithfull in all their Wars and Alliances, and having had the advantage of writing their own Story, they must have been believ'd in all they say, had not there been some way left of discovering the contrary. Themselves discover the opinion their Enemies had of them; *Galgacus* our brave Countryman is introduc'd describing them as Pyrats and publick Robbers, Men of insatiable Avarice and unbounded Ambition, and upon

on these motives, as disturbers of the Peace of Mankind: And tho no doubt that noble Speech of his in *Tacitus*, were made for him, yet the Historian had not observ'd a due Decorum, had he not made him speak the Sense, their Enemies had of the Roman People. And tho *Polybius* does sometimes censure the Roman Justice, yet he no where discovers so much truth, as by what he tells us of *Fabius* and *Philinus*: It seems these two had writ the *Punic* War, the one a *Roman*, the other a *Carthagenian*; the one blames the *Carthagenians* almost in every thing, and the other the *Romans*. It is possible they might both be blameable, but I know no reason, why we are not to give as much credit to the *Carthagenian*, as we are to the *Roman*. Had such Historians as *Philinus* been yet preserv'd, we might then have known all the *Roman*'s faults, as we now read little, besides their Vertues; tho we have the less need of them to this purpose, the Christian Apologist (*l*) having left such an account of their Justice and public Vertues, as is very inconsistent, with their own Histories. And indeed we have one sure way of detecting their insincerity, by comparing them with sacred Story; what monstrous

(*l*) *V. Min. Felix. v. Lact. Inst.*

itrous absurdities have *Justin* and *Tacitus* related of the *Jews*, where they might have had opportunities of being better inform'd? and we are not to think, that they have been more inquisitive in knowing, or perhaps much more favourable in describing other Nations: So that upon the whole, the *Romans* in this matter have not much out-done their Neighbours.

I am not ignorant what mighty expectations were conceiv'd of one Man (*a*) I mean *Cicero*, and how forward Men have been in imagining, that nothing could have been wanting in this kind, had he under-taken the work, he once intended. For my part I scarce wish he had, and cannot but think, he would have been as partial, and under as powerful prejudices, as any of the rest. For how do you think he had cut out and contriv'd his Work? He had design'd a History from the foundation of *Rome*, to his time, and in order to that design'd to begin at his own *Consulate*, and write backward to *Romulus* (*n*): A very preposterous and unaccountable method, did not the reason appear; the Good Man was full of himself, and was impatient to come at his own praises; *Catiline*, no doubt, was in his head, and

(*m*) *Cic. de Leg. l. 1. p. 1.*

(*n*) *V. Dion. Cass. l. 46. ad init.*

after he had preſs'd his Friends to write that War, and could not prevail with them to undertake it, he is reſolv'd to do it himſelf; and whether in the conduct of the Work, *Cicero*'s character would not have been too large, and *Catiline*'s too foul, I leave to every Man to judge: Would not *Catiline* have been painted out in the ſame dreſs, as he now ſtands in the four Orations? And had our Orator's Hiſtory come down as low as *Anthony*, ſhould we not have had too much of the *Philippics*, to be reconcilable to Truth? *Cicero* requires ſo much of Oratory as an ingredient in an Hiſtorian (*o*), as to confirm the ſuſpicion, beyond a doubt.

(*o*) *De Orat. l. 2. init.*

If I ſhould deſcend to Modern times, I ſhould have a large field before me, but the path is ſo trodden, that every Man's own reading will furniſh him with obſervations: If there ſhould be any Man, who has made none of this kind, he needs only peruſe the *English* and *French* Hiſtorians, and by comparing them together, he will find matter of Diverſion and Admiration at the ſame time. How differently do they deſcribe the ſame action? How manifeſtly in favour of a Party? How often do the *French* glory in a Victory, which with the

the *English* is esteem'd an Overthrow? And again how do the *English* sometime proclaim Victory, where their Enemies think they have given them a Defeat? How do they both Triumph, where perhaps neither of them have reason to glory? Or if the advantage be too undeniably on our side to be contested, as at *Agincourt* and *Cressey*, how do our Enemies seek to lessen it? How do they palliate every thing, and charge Heaven, or cross accidents, or mad Despair, with the fortune of the Day? How do they turn every Stone, and labour to have the success and honour fall any where, rather than on the English? Whereas on the other side, How do the English arrogate all to themselves, and their own Courage, and scarce allow any share to Fortune or Despair, or lucky accidents. You have *Fabius* and *Philinus*, only altering the Nation in the *French* and *English*. What a reproach to Truth was it, That a *Duke of Orleance*, one of the first Persons in *France*, should be said to be openly executed for Treason at *Paris*; as was reported in twenty Histories, whilst the Duke was living, and could contradict the report, who afterwards dy'd in peace, to the

shame and ignominy of all his Historians (p). Or who could imagine, that it should be thought an universal Custom amongst the *English*, that upon an invitation to a Friends House, the Person invited, should in compliment, lie with his Neighbour's Wife? And yet this, however barbarous it may seem, has been related, by an *European* Historian (q), a Christian, and one that liv'd almost to the last Century. Would not a Man have suspected, he had liv'd two thousand years ago, or in some remote corner of the world, where the *English* had been reckon'd amongst Barbarous People?

(p) V. Bedæ. Monk. Hist. cap. 4.

(q) Chalcocond. l. 2. p. 49.

These are Domestick Instances, if we look abroad; upon the discovery of the *West-Indies*, what strange Relations have we had from thence? we have been told there of a Nation of *Amazons*, of Giants of a prodigious Stature, the People of such monstrous Shape and truculent Aspect, as if they were of another Species; and as many *Canibals*, as might eat up an ordinary Country (r). Whereas upon further enquiry, we meet with no *Amazons*, unless long Hair and want of Beards will metamorphise Men into Women, and the People are much of the

(r) I. P. Mar. Aug. Ocean. p. 2. 4. &c. Purch. l. 2. p. 34, 38, 93, 99.

the ſame ſize and ſhape with the reſt of Mankind: But the *Spaniards* either ſaw them in a fright, or were under the vanity of reporting ſtrange things, or being in love with the Gold of the Country; they were to repreſent the People as Monſters, that they might have a fairer pretence to deſtroy them. And ſuch Inſtances may ſerve to illuſtrate ancient Hiſtory; doubtleſs, *Herodotus* and *Diodorus* were impos'd upon by ſuch falſe Relations, and had not the like opportunities with us, of correcting their miſtakes.

I ſhould be infinitely tedious, ſhould I give a Hiſtory of Incredible things, and therefore I only touch upon ſome few, and theſe too matters of Fact, which ought to be moſt certain: Whereas ſhould we launch out into Myſteries of State and the Cabinets of Princes; which are the moſt inſtructive part, and moſt properly the Buſineſs of an Hiſtorian, we ſhould be ſtill more in the dark. Matters of Fact are viſible things, and fall under common obſervation, whereas politic reaſons and conſiderations, are abſtruſe and hidden, and only penetrated into, by ſome few of clearer Capacity and deeper

deeper Reach: every ordinary Capacity can judge of time by the point or hand, but the ſpring and ſecret Motions are only obſerv'd by Men of skill. Theſe Men in the State are the Miniſters, tho the ſecret be often hid even from them, for the Reaſons which Princes give, are often only pretended, and rather what they would have others think of them, than the true motives by which they are guided. Such things are out of my Road, and therefore I diſmiſs them.

I ſhall only obſerve further, that however vitious our Hiſtories may be already, there has been one way taken to make them more corrupt, by *Secret Hiſtories* and *Turkiſh Spies*, and other Books of the like nature, which by an appearance of Truth, and by mingling it with falſhood, impoſe upon Men of eaſie belief, and are now grown ſo numerous, that it is matter of Diſcernment to diſtinguiſh betwixt Spurious and Genuine Pieces. To which I may add *Varillas* and *Maimburgh* and other *French* Authors, who write with ſo Romantic an Air, as if they deſign'd rather pleaſant Books, than true Hiſtory, and rather to entertain, than inform their Reader:

Reader: who give us paint instead of Dress, and make Heroes, if they cannot find them.

I have done with this Head and have kept close to one Condition of History, the consideration of its Truth; for should I take in all the Conditions requir'd by *Vossius* and *Le Moyne*, we should either have very little History or none at all. The Jesuit *Le Moyne*, one of the last that has treated of this Subject, requires such Conditions, and lays down such Rules, as no Man can follow, and is so nice in his Examples, as to allow (*f*) only four Historians among the Romans and not so many among the *Greeks*, and all of them short of Perfection. And as to the Modrens, he is yet more scrupulous, in admiting them into account, only it had been strange, had he not found two or three of his own Order, *Maffeus*, *Strada*, and *Mariana*, whom he thinks fit to equal with *Tacitus* and *Livy*. He designs us a History himself, and to that end has chalk'd out such a method as he means to pursue; but if we may judge of his veracity, by his perpetually running a Parallel betwixt History and Poem; or of his pre-

(*f*) *Disc.* 1. *ch.* 2.

prejudices, by his partiality to his Order, he is not like to out do his Predeceſſors: And notwithſtanding his great deſign, we may conclude this Chapter, as he does his Book, That *a Compleat Hiſtory ſhall not appear, but in that year, that diſcovers the Perpetual Motion and the Philoſopher's Stone.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

Of Chronology.

CHronology and Geography have been lookt upon as the two eyes of Hiſtory, if theſe ſhine dim, our Hiſtory muſt be yet more obſcure; without theſe it lies in confuſion, is only a heap of indigeſted matter, flat and inſipid, and will neither profit nor delight in reading. It is time and place that give Life as well as Beauty, and a naked relation of things, without Circumſtance, is very unaffecting ſtuff: So that as if theſe can be had, they will be an acceſſion of Beauty, in want of theſe, there will be as great a blemiſh. And in what meaſure we have them, we muſt next enquire.

And here again I ſhall paſs by the fabulous accounts of times, ſuch as the *Chineſe*, *Ægyptian* and *Chaldean* may be juſtly thought to be; for tho *Jſ. Voſſius* has attempted the *Chineſe* Antiquity, and

and the *Ægyptian* Dynasties have been endeavour'd to be reconcil'd by our Learned Countryman Sir *John Marsham*; yet there are so many things to be supposed in their Accounts, and so little possibility of proof at so immense a distance, that the Systems which they raise are perfectly precarious; and whatever the aim of those Authors was, I doubt neither of their Books have done Service to Religion. They seem to me like an Hypothesis in Philosophy, which being granted, our Philosophers will argue plausibly upon it, and make a shift to reconcile all difficulties, that shall be brought, though the ground they go upon be Fiction and Enchanted; so these men will shift off objections pretty plausibly, and lay things together in Specious order, tho the Foundation they build upon be laid in the Air.

'Tis true our Accounts of *Greece* are somewhat more clear and certain, but then they are such as are too recent; if you trace them up to their remote Antiquities, the *Græcians* are as obscure as the rest of the World: The *Athenians* the most known People of that Race, know nothing of their own Original; according to themselves they were αὐτόχθονες, and either sprung from the Earth or had

had no original at all. When their Historical Age takes place, yet their Periods of time are dark and confus'd, and their Chronology is not so ancient as their History. This has been observ'd by Sr. *John Marsham* (*t*) who shows that the Ancient *Greeks* were wholly unskilful in Chronology, especially in the *Technical* part of that Art. There was such diversity and inequality in their years and such variety in their Periods and Cycles, as did necessarily occasion a great confusion; and it was impossible they should make right Computations of times, where they had no sure Rule to go by: This they had not, and accordingly their year was so disordered, and their Recurrent Feasts thereby so unsetled, That *Aristophanes* (*u*) pleasantly tells us, that the God's themselves did not know them, and introduceth the God's complaining of the Moon, that by her uncertain notice, of these good Times, they were disappointed of their Entertainments, and often forc'd to return back hungry to Heaven. *Meton* was the first who adjusted these differences, and reduc'd their Accounts to tolerable Regularity, by the Invention of that famous Period of nineteen years, for which he has deserv'd the honour

(*t*) *Chron. Can. p.* 14, 139.

(*u*) *Ap. Seld. Marm. Arund. p.* 233.

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and the *Ægyptian* Dynasties have been endeavour'd to be reconcil'd by our Learned Countryman Sir *John Marsham*; yet there are so many things to be supposed in their Accounts, and so little possibility of proof at so immense a distance, that the Systems which they raise are perfectly precarious; and whatever the aim of those Authors was, I doubt neither of their Books have done Service to Religion. They seem to me like an Hypothesis in Philosophy, which being granted, our Philosophers will argue plausibly upon it, and make a shift to reconcile all difficulties, that shall be brought, though the ground they go upon be Fiction and Enchanted; so these men will shift off objections pretty plausibly, and lay things together in Specious order, tho the Foundation they build upon be laid in the Air.

'Tis true our Accounts of *Greece* are somewhat more clear and certain, but then they are such as are too recent; if you trace them up to their remote Antiquities, the *Græcians* are as obscure as the rest of the World: The *Athenians* the most known People of that Race, know nothing of their own Original; according to themselves they were αὐτόχθονες, and either sprung from the Earth or had

had no original at all. When their Historical Age takes place, yet their Periods of time are dark and confus'd, and their Chronology is not so ancient as their History. This has been observ'd by Sr. *John Marsham* (*t*) who shows that the Ancient *Greeks* were wholly unskilful in Chronology, especially in the *Technical* part of that Art. There was such diversity and inequality in their years and such variety in their Periods and Cycles, as did necessarily occasion a great confusion; and it was impossible they should make right Computations of times, where they had no sure Rule to go by: This they had not, and accordingly their year was so disordered, and their Recurrent Feasts thereby so unsetled, That *Aristophanes* (*u*) pleasantly tells us, that the God's themselves did not know them, and introduceth the God's complaining of the Moon, that by her uncertain notice, of these good Times, they were disappointed of their Entertainments, and often forc'd to return back hungry to Heaven. *Meton* was the first who adjusted these differences, and reduc'd their Accounts to tolerable Regularity, by the Invention of that famous Period of nineteen years, for which he has deserv'd the

(*t*) *Chron. Can.* p. 14, 139.

(*u*) *Ap. Seld. Marm. Arund.* p. 233.

honour

honour to be recorded in Letters of Gold: tho his Period was not so accurate, as not to be capable of amendment, and therefore was afterwards corrected by *Calippus* and *Hipparchus*. So very unsteddy have their computations been. The *Arcadians* may have been thought to have been before them in this, if you will take that account of their being before the Moon, assign'd by some; by understanding it of their having had a Course of Lunar years, before the *Greeks* had fix'd their Periods; unless *Scaliger*'s reason will be thought more probable (*x*).

(*x*) *Proleg. ad Emend. p.* 3.

Nor are the *Roman* Computations more Regular: It has been lookt upon as matter of wonder, That the *Romans* should differ so much in their first and great *Epocha*, the time of building their City; *Onuphrius* (*y*) reckons up seven different opinions, most of them maintained by considerable Authorities, and is not a little amaz'd at the disagement. I should have wondred, if it had been otherwise, considering either the darkness of their Ancient History, or the irregularity and unequalness of their Computations. So little regard had they to order in time, upon the Foundation of their City, that their first years were neither regulated by the Course

(*y*) *Comment. ad Fast. p.*15.

Course of Sun or Moon: *Romulus* instituted such a year as might be expected from a Warlick Prince, and an Illiterate People, consisting of ten Months, beginning at *March*, and ending at *December* (*z*): And although this Year was soon discover'd to fall short of the Natural Year and Course of the Sun; yet it is probable, he had not Skill, or perhaps Concern enough to correct the Mistake; and the Intercalations that were made, were done in an unskilful, or negligent Manner: So that the *Year of Confusion* must have happen'd sooner than it did, had he not been succeeded by a Prince, who had more inclination for the Arts of Peace than War. *Numa* undertook the Calendar, where *Romulus* had left it, and tho' I do not think he had any assistance from *Pythagoras*, as some have imagin'd (*a*), (which I doubt will appear to be a Chronological Mistake) yet he reduced the Year to better order, than could be reasonably hop'd for, in so dim an Age, by adding the two Months, which had been wanting in *Romulus*'s Account, and ordering such Intercalations to be made, as were necessary to set right the irregular Days. But whether it was that his Calendar was yet very imperfect, or that the High-Priests (with

(*z*) *V. Blondel. Hist. du Cal. Rom. l. 2. c. 1.*

(*a*) *Blondel. ib. cap. 2.*

whom the power of Intercalation was lodg'd) were wanting in their Duty, or whether ſomewhat of both concur'd to the miſcarriage; this is certain, that before *J. Cæſar*'s time, the courſe of the Year was ſo much diſorder'd, that the Months had run back into one another, their Winter was run into Autumn, and their Summer into Spring; and had not that wiſe Prince apply'd a Remedy; their Winter might have run into Summer. Theſe Inconveniences being obſerv'd by *Cæſar*, put him upon a Reformation, which he attempted by his Pontifical Power, and the aſſiſtance of *Soſigenes*, a skilful Aſtronomer, and having run all the irregular Days into one Year, conſiſting of Fifteen Months according to *Suetonius*, or of 445 Days, as *Cenſorinus* will have it; by one Year of *Confuſion*, he brought their Calendar again to order, by ſuch a Regulation, as is too well known, to need to be explain'd. However, his Computations (notwithſtanding the Skill of the Undertaker) were not accurate enough, for in leſs than 1300 Years from the Council of *Nice*, to *Gregory* XIII.) the Calendar and the Heavens were found to be again at Diſcord, and to vary ten Days in the Courſe of the Sun, and about four Days

in the Course of the Moon, which brought things into such disorder, as to occasion another Year of *Confusion*, under that Pope, in the Year 1582.

And tho' this Pope's Reformation, has been thought so compleat, as to be styl'd *a Perpetual Calendar*, and Medals have been struck upon the occasion to perpetuate the Memory of the thing, yet he must be a bold Man that will undertake, it shall be perpetual, or will venture to maintain it to be so exact, as not to admit of improvement. This is well known, that it had not been long abroad, till it was censur'd, and its Failings discover'd, by *Scaliger* and *Calvisius*, and wanted an Apology from *Clavius*, who had been one of the Principal Persons employ'd in the Design; with so little success notwithstanding, that if we will believe *Scaliger* (*b*), it wants a second Apology: And unless the Motions of the Sun were perfectly regular and uniform even to Minutes and Scruples, (which according to the best Calculations they are not) it is scarce possible they should fall under an Invariable Rule. However this be, unless this Calendar were more generally receiv'd, than it has yet been, it is like to occasion further confusion: For whilst it reaches

(*b*) *Scaliger an.* P. 52.

little further, than to those Kingdoms, under the Obedience of the Pope, and the *Julian* Account obtains, in almost all the other *Christian* parts of *Europe*, we are cutting out Work for future Critics, who are like to find Employment enough some Hundred Years hence, in reconciling the Differences, which shall arise from the Old and New Style.

From this Historical Account of *Times*, I think we have a fair Specimen of the uncertainty of Chronology. Should we remove the Scene from Times to Men, they will further evince this truth: The two great Men in this sort of Learning, were *Scaliger* and *Petavius*, the former of these has taken prodigious pains upon the Subject; which appears in several of his Works, so more particularly, in his great Work of the *Emendation of Times*, of which he had so good an Opinion, and was so much Complemented by Learned Men, upon his Divine and Immortal Work, that a Man would have imagin'd the Difficulties in the Account of Time, had been pretty well clear'd, and little left to be done further. His *Divine Work* had not been long abroad in the World, e're it was taken notice of by *Petavius*, who had spent as much time in these Studies, as *Scaliger* had, and

is so far from allowing him those mighty Praises, that he shows, he had been almost under a continu'd mistake. A great part of *Petavius's Doctrine of Times*, is spent in confuting *Scaliger*, scarce a Chapter in his five first large Books, wherein *Scaliger* is not mention'd, and his many Errors and Hallucinations discover'd; in such manner, that his Work might as reasonably be entitl'd a Confutation of *Scaliger*, as a *Doctrine of Times*. He will scarce allow him to have done any thing well in Chronology, or to have made any considerable Discovery, unless it were in the *Julian Period*, and after he had granted him that Praise, as if he had done him too much Honor, he retracts that Commendation, and will not allow him to be the Inventor of that Period, but to have stole it from the *Greeks* (c). And if that Invention had been allow'd him (which our Learned Primate perhaps with more reason does attribute to a Countryman of our own a *Bishop* of *Hereford*) yet it being only a

(c) *Ac profecto ni tot Scriptis ab eo Chronologicis libris, nihil fere est, quod momentum aliquod ad rem illam habeat, quodque reprehensionem effugiat, præter particulam istam, quæ Julianæ Periodi methodum explicavit —— Quanquam in eo castigandus est non nihil Scaliger, quod se periodi illius Inventorem, [illegible] methodi fuisse glorietur, hanc enim a Græcis transtulit —— Doctr. Temp. I. 9. c. 1.*

Technical thing, and common measure for fixing and reducing other Periods unto, and it ſelf no real Period in time; tho' it be of good uſe, as an Inſtrument to work with, yet it is no real diſcovery in the Accounts of time, which notwithſtanding this, remain in the ſame obſcurity, only they may be rang'd in better order, under this common Period, than they were in before. So that either *Scaliger* had diſcover'd nothing, at leaſt nothing conſiderable, or he has been very unjuſtly cenſur'd by his Adverſary *Petavius*. In many things, no doubt, they have been both of them miſtaken; tho both of them pretend to demonſtrate, and in many of their Calculations proceed with Mathematical aſſurance.

What has been done ſince, has been chiefly in the Hiſtorical part of Chronology, (the Controverſie ſome Years ago, having run much in the Technical, the Reformation of the *Roman* Calendar, having probably turn'd Mens Diſputes that way) wherein Father *Pagi* has excell'd, and from one accidental Obſervation (to ſay nothing of his other Diſcoveries) concerning the *Quinquennalia*, *Decennalia*, and other *Roman* Feaſts, has given much Light to the *Roman Faſti*, and diſcover'd the Miſtakes of *Scaliger*, *Petavius*,

Petavius, *Baronius*, and moſt of the Hiſtorians and Chronologers, who have Writ before his Time. How far his Obſervation will hold, Time muſt ſhow; he ſeems to glory too much, where he compares it to the Diſcovery of the *Weſt-Indies* by *Columbus* (*d*).

(*d*) *Pagi Diſſert. Hypat. P.* 6

Our late Incomparable *Biſhop* of *Cheſter*, as he begun to write about the ſame time with *Pagi*, ſo he has done it with like ſucceſs, and from ſome dark Hints, and particularly from his Obſervations upon *Plotinus*'s Life by *Porphyry*, has given much light to a very obſcure part of Hiſtory, in his *Cyprianic* Annals; tho' I cannot altogether have the ſame Opinion of his Poſthumous Chronological Works: For behold the power of Prejudice even in good Men! The Biſhop in this Work being to ſettle and adjuſt the Succeſſion of the *Roman* Biſhops; it happens that *Eutychius*'s Annals were of good uſe to this purpoſe, and very agreeable to the Biſhop's Opinion: Who this *Eutychius* was, is well known, one whom the Biſhop in his Vindication of *Ignatius*'s Epiſtles (*e*), had repreſented as too modern Authority to be much credited, living in the *Tenth Century*, and ignorant of the Affairs of his own Church, a trifling *Arabic* Hiſtorian, without Judgment, and contra-

(*e*) *Pagi* [illegible] *p.* 1.

dicting himself: And yet this same *Eutychius*, when he favours the Bishop's Opinion, tho' he knew little of his own Church, is good Authority in the Affairs of the *Church of Rome*, where he had reason to be ignorant, (*f*) and the Bishop is so possess'd with him, that he forsakes our *Greek* and *Latin* Authors, to follow his Footsteps; altho' his Authority be really of no value, and he has had that right done him, to be contemn'd by most of those who have taken notice of him; except Mr. *Selden*, who to gratifie his Anger against the Bishops, gave us a part of this Author, and encourag'd Dr. *Pocock* to publish the rest.

(*f*) *Oper. Posthum. Dis.* 1. *C.* 14.

We have been promis'd great things of late from Medals and Inscriptions; *Ez. Spanheym* famous for his Book, *De usu Numismatum*, has largely shown the Use of Medals (*g*) in Chronology, which *Du Fresne*, and *Foy-vaillant* have since illustrated by Example; the one, in the *Constantinopolitan* Emperors; the other, in the History of the *Seleucidæ* accommodated to Medals; and a third has gone so far, as from a few obscure Medals of *Herod*'s Family, not only to call in question the Authority, but by broad Intimations, to suspect of Forgery both *Josephus*, and several others of our

(*g*) *De Usu Num. P.* 859.

our beſt Authors. But beſides the danger from a dim Legend or Inſcription, where the leaſt ſtroke, will alter the Senſe, or determine the Number very differently; whoever conſiders, That *Annius* of *Viterbo* could forge large Hiſtories, will ſurely not think it ſtrange, that we ſhould have Forgeries in Medals. It is too certain, there have been ſuch, and the thing is ſo noted, that ſome Medals are now as valuable, for being exact Counterfeits, as others are, for being truly Originals. And as to Inſcriptions, who knows not, that it was generally the way of Flattery, to Complement Princes and Great Men of all ſorts, with fulſome Elogies, and that *Domitian*'s Medals and Inſcriptions were call'd in after his Death, becauſe he had not deſerv'd ſuch Honors? And tho' I do really think the preſent *French* King to be a Wiſe and Heroic Prince, yet I believe there are few, who would be willing to take his Hiſtory, from *Meneſtrier*'s *Lewis* XIV. *from Inſcriptions and Medals.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

Of Geography.

A Stranger to Geography, that ſhould read the Voyages of *Ulyſſes* or *Æneas*, as they are deſcrib'd by the Poets, and ſhould obſerve, the time that is ſpent, the Removes that they make, and dangers they undergo, in being toſs'd from Shore to Shore, would be apt to imagine, they had viſited moſt parts of the habitable World; and yet it is plain, one of them ſcarce went any further than the *Ægean*-Sea, and neither of them ever paſt the Mouth of the Straits: It is much ſo, with our Ancient Geography, where we have a great noiſe, and little done. The Poets were wiſe in ſtoping ſhort of the *Straits*, for had they launch'd out, and led their *Heroes* beyond theſe Bounds, they muſt have been in danger of being loſt, all beyond having been, *Terra Incognita*. Nor can this ſeem ſtrange in the Poets, the Ancient Hiſtorians and Geographers knew little farther; *Herodotus* (*b*) is loſt when he paſſeth the Straits,

(*b*) *Herod. l. 2. Strab. l. 3. ad init.*

Straits, *Posidonius* and *Artimedorus* in *Strabo* * make the Sun to set there, and *Aristotle*'s Philosophy will carry him little further, who will needs have *India* to Confine upon the *Straits*, and *Hercules*'s Pillars: And indeed it is so far true that the *Straits* and *India* did border upon one another, as *India* seems to have been a common name amongst the Ancients for Ignorance, for where they knew no farther they call'd it, *India*: which *Strabo* tells us (*i*) all the Geographers that have writ have given us nothing but lies. I will not enter upon a narrative of the mistakes of the Ancients, and show how they have confounded places nearer home, and jumbled Sea and Land together, how some of them have mis-taken the *Mediterranean*, and joyn'd it with the *Persian* Sea: How the Northen Seas have been made to run into the *Caspian*, That is really a Lake; and the *Arabian*, has been made a Lake, that is well known to flow into the Ocean: He that has a curiosity may meet with a plentifull Harvest of such mistakes, in *Strabo*'s three first Books.

(*i*) *Lib.* 2.

Strabo indeed has corrected many of these mistakes, and has deliver'd things down to us with greater accuracy: But

But neither is he exact-enough; he is too much a Hiſtorian, to be a Good Geographer, and wanting Tables and Maps, and the Longitudes and Latitudes being things beyond his kill, without which it is ſcare poſſible to fix places a right, he muſt needs err for want of ſuch Helps to guide his Courſe: And the ſame may be ſaid of moſt of the reſt of the Geographers, before or ſoon after his time.

The honour of reducing Geography to Art and Syſtem, was reſerv'd to *Ptolemy*, who by adding Mathematical advantages, to the Hiſtorical Method in which it had been treated of before, has deſcrib'd the World in a much more intelligible manner. He has dilineated it, under more certain Rules, and by fixing the bounds of places from Longutude and Latitude, has both diſcover'd others miſtakes and has left us a method of diſcovering his own. What theſe are I need not ſay, the moſt conſiderable may be ſeen in *Agathidæmon*'s Map of the World, which is printed with *Ptolemy*'s Works, and is the firſt of its kind now extant. A man may ſee there with ſome pleaſure, what Idea the Ancients had of the World, after it was thought, to have been pretty plainly diſcover'd by

by *Ptolemy*'s labours: No very clear one you may be ſure; amongſt other miſtakes, the ſituation of *Britain* is quite miſtaken, *Scandinavia* a large *Peninſula*, is divided from the Continent, and contracted into a poor narrow Iſland; *Africa* is deſcrib'd without bounds, and no paſſage allow'd from the *Mediterranean* to the *Red-Sea*, and it will not be wondred, if the deſcription of *India* be remote from truth. Leſſer errors abound in him; how many of this kind have been detected by a late skilful Geographer (*t*) only in one of our *European* Nations? And how many more might be ſhown in the reſt? And if he could be ſo much deceiv'd, as he is, in the Deſcription of *Cyprus*, an Iſland near *Alexandria*, and almoſt at his own door, it will not ſeem ſtrange, that he ſhould be more out in his accounts of *Scandinavia* and *Britain*. It is certainly no commendation, that the forecited Author, prefers *Pliny*'s accounts to *Ptolemy*'s, who has not been very reputable for his accuracy or truth, and that *Starbo* (in the hiſtorical part) is preferr'd to them both.

(*t*) *Cluver. Germ. Antiq. Proœm.*

We

We have had a Geography of late deducing all things from the *Phenician* Antiquities, which has appear'd with pomp enough to dazzle men into an opinion thereof, and thereby to obtain Credit and Reputation in the World. The Author is a Conſiderable Perſon, and one who in order to eſtabliſh his *Phenician* Antiquities, has ſucceſsfully enough overturn'd thoſe of the *Greeks*: But when he comes to eſtabliſh theſe Antiquities, the firſt thing he complains of, is, want of Monuments (*k*), and therefore flies to the *Greeks* to fetch them thence; ſo that we are much in the ſame place, where we were. However what are theſe Monuments, which we meet with there? By his own Confeſſion only ſome looſe and broken Fragments, which ſeem to diſcover little more, than in general, that the *Phenicians* made long voyages, and viſited remote Countries; and what is that to us, if they have left us no Charts or Journals, which they have not done? So that at laſt, he uſually takes ſhelter in the derivation of a word, or place, from a *Phenician* Root, wherein tho he has been happy enough in his conjectures, yet this way is principally conjectural, and too precarious to build a Geogrephy upon. If this be all, I will under-

(*k*) *Præf. ad Chan.*

undertake *Goropius Becanus* will go near to do as much for the Dutch, *Pere Pezron* for the *Celtique*, and almoſt every Country, that pretends an Original Language, and has a fanciful man amongſt them, will do the like for their own Nation. I am unwilling to oppoſe this Author, for the ſake of his Title, which is *Geographia Sacra*, and ſhall readily grant, nay it is what I contend for, that as far as it is Sacred, it is likewiſe true; but where he leaves *Moſes*, he forſakes his Guide, and wanders as much as the *Phenicians* ever did.

I have no deſign to form a Compariſon betwixt the Ancients and Moderns, they are both alike to me, but the advantage in this, is too viſible on the ſide of the Moderns to be diſſembled: They have open'd a paſſage to a New World, unknown to the Ancients, and thoſe parts of the Old, which have been thought Unhabitable, have been found to be Inhabited; and their Torrid Zone to be Temperate enough, by refreſhing Showers, and conſtant Brezes, and cold Nights, by the direct Seting of the Sun, and interpoſition of the whole Body of the Earth. *Antipodes*, who have been the Subject of ſo much Controverſy, are to us Matter of Fact, and the Globe it ſelf

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has been compass'd with less noise by *Magellan* and *Drake*, than the *Phenicians* and *Greeks* could Coast upon the Mediterranean. However, least we should swell too much upon our Discoveries, there is yet World enough left undetected to be a Check upon our Ambition.

(l) *La Motke le Vayer, Vol.* 2. *P.* 825.

I am not of his Opinion (*l*), who thinks that almost one half of the Terrestrial Globe is yet undiscover'd, but by modest Computation, I suppose we may allot a fourth part. That there is a vast *Southern* Continent, as yet scarce look into, is now past Controversy; tho' I much doubt, whether the further Discovery would turn to great account; for the *Dutch* who pretend to have Sail'd to the 64th Degree of Southern Latitude, have observ'd Mountains cover'd with Snow; and no farther South than the utmost Bounds of *America*, the Straits of *Magellan* are so Froze in *April* (*m*), that there is then no passing that way for Ice: So that much of the Country must be cold and barren, answerable to our Northern Climes on this side. The Northern parts of *America* are yet undiscover'd, nor can it be determin'd, till its Bounds that way be laid open, whether it be a vast Island, or a Continent. *Africa*, tho' it

(m) Narborough's *Voyage*, *P.* 15.

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has been compaſs'd round and round, from the *Mediterranean* to the *Red Sea*, yet little more than its Coaſts are thoroughly known, except *Ægypt* and *Abaſſia*, its In-land parts have been either not ſufficiently view'd, or imperfectly deſcrib'd, neither the Merchants Gain, nor the Miſſionarie's Zeal having determin'd their Purſuits to ſuch rude and deſolate Countries. And as to *Aſia*, what a prodigious Compaſs are we forc'd to fetch about, to come at the extreme Regions of that Quarter of the World, moſt of which might be ſav'd, and a Voyage made with half the Charge and Time, could a Paſſage be diſcover'd by the North, to *Tartary* and *China*: A Paſſage which has been often attempted, but always with Diſappointment, and ſometimes with the loſs of the Adventurers; and is like to continue, a *ne plus ultra*, to their moſt daring Endeavors: Whether we conſider the Dangers they are expos'd to from rough Winds, in a Clime intenſly cold; or from Mountains of Ice, which are the Rocks that are moſt fear'd in thoſe Seas; or the Difficulties in making their way in thick Miſts and Fogs; or what may happen worſe, in Nights of ſome Months continuance, and no Moon either to direct their Courſe, or give them

Light. To ſay nothing of a vaſt Ridge of Mountains, which has been obſerv'd by our late Miſſionaries (*n*) to ſtretch it ſelf forth into the *Tartarian* Sea, the Cape whereof has never yet been doubled, and probably never may; it being doubtful whether theſe Mountains may not reach to the oppoſite Coaſt, and joyn *America* with the *Aſian* Continent: So that the Bounds of *Aſia* on that ſide, as well as the oppoſite *American* Coaſt have been hitherto hid from our Enquiries.

(*n*) *Le Compt. Memoir. Let. ult.*

There is one thing yet very lame in our Geography, the fixing the true Longitude of places; and tho' ſeveral new ways have been lately try'd, to redreſs this Inconvenience, both from exact *Pendulums*, and from Obſervations upon the Immerſions and Emerſions of *Jupiter's Satellites*, yet they have not altogether prov'd effectual. For want of this, *China* has been plac'd in our Maps five or ſix hundred *French* Leagues further diſtant, than it really is (*o*), and an imaginary Country found out, to fill up the vaſt intermediate ſpace: And *Voſſius*, who delights in Paradoxes, (who has magnify'd Old *Rome* to above Seventy Miles in compaſs, and its Inhabitants to fourteen Millions of People (*p*) has remov'd it yet farther off. And tho' the

(*o*) *Le Compt. ib.*

(*p*) *Var. Obſervat. P.* 23, 34. *ib. P.* 168.

Jeſuits

Jeſuits of the Miſſion, have pretended to rectify this Miſtake, from the Mathematical Obſervations above-nam'd, yet neither could *Voſſius* ſee into the ſtrength of ſuch Arguments, and I much queſtion, whether they would have obtain'd Credit, had not a Miſſionary of the ſame Order (*q*) determin'd the Matter in a more undeniable way, by opening a Paſſage from *Muſcovy* to *China*, and by marking the ſeveral Stages, and ſhowing, from undoubted Relations, it was only a Journey of ſo many Days. And yet the difficulty is greater at Sea, which is not capable of being ſo eaſily meaſur'd, and where the Obſervations in our *Teleſcopes* cannot be ſo regularly made, as they may upon firm Ground, and there it is, the Jeſuits themſelves complain, they are at a loſs.

(q) *Avril.* l. 2.

Voſſius has aſſign'd ſuch a reaſon (*r*) of the variety in fixing the Longitude of the *Eaſtern* part of the World, as may be extended further, and be of excellent uſe in Speculations of this Nature. Upon the diſcovery of the *Weſt-Indies* by the *Spaniards*, and a Paſſage open'd by Sea near the ſame time, to the *Eaſt*, by the *Portuguese*; *Alexander* VI. by the Power which Popes have of diſpoſing of Temporal Kingdoms, did by ſolemn Bulls (*ſ*) diſpoſe

(r) *Var. Obſerv. p.* 169.

(ſ) *Mariana* l. 26. c. 3.

diſpoſe of this new World to theſe two Nations; and having divided it into two Hemiſphæres, the Weſtern Hemiſphære he allotted to the *Spaniards*, and the Eaſtern to the *Portugueſe*; a Diviſion which the *Dutch* and *Engliſh* have not thought themſelves oblig'd to ſubmit to. However the Diviſion was made, but when the Parties came to claim their reſpective Shares, a Queſtion preſently aroſe about fixing their Longitude, and the Pope's having not been *then* Infallible in Matters of *Fact*, eſpecially in ſuch as depend upon Mathematical Calculations; the two Nations were left to end the Controverſy betwixt themſelves. The great Contention was about the *Molucca*-Iſlands, which the *Spaniards* claim'd as theirs, and the *Portugueſe* pretended, fell within their ſhare in the Diviſion, and Men of Skill being conſulted on both ſides; the *Spaniſh* Geographers went one way, and the *Portugueſe* went another, and ſo far were the two Nations from coming to agreement, that they differ'd almoſt forty Degrees in their Calculations, which is a large proportion of the whole Globe; and yet ſo obſtinate were both in their Accounts, that Orders were given by public Edicts, that the Degrees and Meridians ſhould be no otherwiſe

fixt

fixt in their ſeveral Charts and Maps, than as they had been determin'd by the two Nations. How much the one ſide was miſtaken, has been ſince better known, the Concluſion was, that whilſt the Longitude was determin'd, in ſuch an unaccountable manner, by public Edicts, and abſolute Power, it occaſion'd ſtrange confuſion in our Degrees and Meridians, of which *Voſſius* thinks, we have not recover'd ſince.

But granting the Globe to have been nicely meaſur'd, has it withal been as accurately deſcrib'd? I doubt not, how are our modern Geographers perplex't in making out the Situation of antient Places? *Babylon* once the moſt Glorious City upon Earth, is almoſt as much hid (*t*), as the obſcureſt Village ever was; nay, they often ſtumble, where they tread in known Paths. *Ferrarius* has given us a Geographical Dictionary pretending to be Univerſal, afterwards ſo much enlarg'd and corrected by *Baudrand*, as to ſeem a new Work; they were both of them Men noted for their skill in Geography: Notwithſtanding which, their joynt Work had not appear'd above Twelve Months in the World, till Monſieur *Sanſon* had diſcover'd five hundred Faults (*u*) only under the firſt Letter

(*t*) *Luyts* p. 492.

(*u*) *Nouv. de la Rep. An.* 84. *A.* p. 310.

A. A Work of the like Nature has been ſince publiſh'd in *Engliſh* by two other extraordinary Perſons, and tho' no *Sanſon* has yet made his Obſervations upon it, yet I will undertake with the little skill I have in Geography, to ſhow greater Miſtakes under the Letter *A*, than any that occur in *Ferrarius*, or *Baudrand*. To name only one, the *Azores* are there deſcrib'd as the ſame with the *Canary Iſlands*; which is an Error of worſe conſequence, and more inexcuſable, becauſe the firſt Meridian is uſually plac'd in theſe Iſlands: And yet they ſtand thus in the correct and enlarg'd Edition.

CHAP XIII.

Of Civil Law.

WE have certainly one great Proof of the Excellency of the *Roman* Laws, from the conſent of thoſe many Nations, by whom they have been receiv'd; and that too where there is no Living Authority to enforce them, and they come recommended only by their own native force: The *Romans* Laws have liv'd longer, and ſpread wider, than their Arms ever did, and the Conqueſts of their Wiſdom have been greater than thoſe of their power. However, there is only one perfect Law, a Character to which no Humane Ordinance can have any claim, and of which the *Roman* Laws will be found upon Examination to fall much ſhort; notwithſtanding the Reputation of Wiſdom that they ſtand poſſeſs'd of.

The Twelve Tables contain the first Grounds of the *Roman* Laws, and having been Abridgments of those of *Solon* at *Athens*, and those of the other Cities in *Greece* renown'd for Knowledge, added to the Ancient Customs of *Rome*; if there be any Wisdom in Humane Constitutions, it might be expected to be met with there. It was of these Tables, that *Cicero* pronounc'd under the Person of *Crassus* (x), that they were of more Use and Authority, than all the Books of the Philosophers. We have only some Fragments of them left collected by *Baldwin* and others; amongst which, as there are some things hard, so that Law which permits the Body of the Debtor to be cut in pieces, and divided amongst his Creditors, for want of Payment, is not only Cruel but Barbarous. *Baldwin* (y) himself cannot quote it without Exclamation; and *Quintilian* who could give a colour to most things, and as a *Roman* was concern'd to do it in this, yet where this Law comes in his way, rather seeks to excuse it (z), than offers at its defence. The best thing he says for it is, that it was then antiquated, and as such we leave it with the rest of that Set, and pass on to those, that are now in force, the Imperial or *Justinian* Laws

(x) *De Orat. l.* 1.

(y) *Com. de Leg.* 12 *Tab. c.* 46.

(z) *Ap. Bald ib.*

Laws, and will ſee what Exceptions can be made to thoſe.

They are principally reducible to two Heads, the *Pandects* and the *Code*, whereof the firſt contains the Opinions of Learned Lawyers; the other, the Decrees of *Roman* Emperors. As to the Inſtitutes, they uſually go along with the *Pandects*, and are only a Compendium, or uſeful Introduction to young Beginners: and the Novels are a Supplement to the *Code*: The *Feuds* are not of *Roman* Original, but Cuſtomes of a later Date and meaner Extraction.

The Civilians who pretend that if the *Latin* Tongue were loſt, it might be found in the Book of *Pandects*, would take it ill to be thought miſtaken in the Word *Pandect*, which although a Maſculine (*a*), is generally us'd by them in a Feminine Signification: This is a light Error, only it is in the Threſhold, and they that ſpeak big, ſhould be very ſure, they are not miſtaken. It will not be deny'd, the greateſt part of the Pandects are writ with purity enough, they have that from the Authors, and the Age they were writ in, and ſo much is own'd by thoſe Critics, who have been pretty ſevere upon the other Tomes of the Law, and therefore I ſhall make no Objection here:

(*a*) *H. Step. de abus Ling. Gr.* p. 12.

here: No more than I ſhall, that the Emperor by whoſe Order they were collected, is under no very advantagious Character for Learning, that which *Suidas* gives him being Ἀναλφάβητος, a Man that did not underſtand his Alphabet: For tho he were ignorant himſelf, he might employ Men of Underſtanding, and if *Tribonian* were ſuch, who was the great Inſtrument in that work, his Laws will have no leſs Authority upon that account: But ſo it happens, that *Tribonian*'s Character is worſe than the Emperor's, not for his Underſtanding but Integrity, being repreſented by the ſame Author (*b*) as a Corrupt Perſon, one that writ Laws and took them away, and proſtituted Juſtice for the ſake of Lucre, one that comply'd with his Prince's Paſſions and Humors, and flatter'd him almoſt to Adoration. I know *Suidas*'s Authority is ſuſpected, and therefore I ſhould lay the leſs weight upon it, did not *Juſtinian* ſeem to countenance the Charge in his own Conſtitutions (*c*), where he aſſumes ſuch Titles and Honors, as *Tribonian* is ſaid to have given him. However I charge nothing upon

(*b*) *Suid. in Tribon.*

(*c*) *V. Conſtitut. de Cod. conf. & de Conc. Digeſt. ubi,* Divina noſtra, Numen noſtrum, &c.

this

this Emperor, I only cite his Words, and leave others to judge of and reconcile them.

But whatever *Tribonian*'s other qualifications were, I doubt we have too much to blame his want of care, and to ſuſpect, the Conception of the *Pandects* as well as the other Tomes of the Law, was a haſty work, and not digeſted with that accuracy, which a work of that vaſt importance might juſtly require. For whereas in his time the Roman Laws had been growing up above a 1000 years, and had then ſwoln to that Bulk that they were contain'd in two thouſand Volumes, ſo many, as could not eaſily be read in ſome years, much leſs compar'd and digeſted and reconciled; *Tribonian* with his few Aſſiſtants had overcome all theſe difficulties in a ſhort time, and in three years had finiſh'd the *Digeſt* and *Inſtitutes*, together with the firſt draught of the *Code*; which laſt in all probability, having been compos'd too haſtily, was forc'd to undergo an Emendation and to come forth in a ſecond Edition. And doubtleſs the Digeſt might likewiſe have been more correct, had it coſt more Years, and had had *Tribonian*'s ſecond Care. The Emperor himſelf ſeem'd ſurpriz'd with the Diſpatch,

patch, for as before it was undertaken, he ſtyles it an Infinite Work, ſuch as none of the former Emperors had ventured to undertake, or thought poſſible; ſo after it was finiſh'd within the Compaſs of three Years, he plainly owns (*d*), he did not imagine, it could have been effected in leſs than ten. Accordingly the marks of haſt and precipitation have been obſerv'd in the Work: In ſome places too ſhort and conſequently obſcure, in others redundant and the ſame things repeated, only in different words, or from different Authors; *Antinomians* are almoſt unavoidable in ſuch variety of Opinions and Anſwers, and ſometimes inextricable difficulties occur, by mangling the Senſe and curtailing Authors: Some things in that or the Code ſeem not ſo conſiſtent with the Canons (*e*); and other Caſes yet harder have been cited (*f*) by a Learned Advocate. A great part of it is ſpent in Caſes and ſubtle Opinions, poſſibly of greater Learning than real advantage in the common uſes and occaſions of Life; and all theſe are left us much indigeſted, in looſe and broken Sentences, not in ſuch method as is ſuitable to a Regular Body of Laws.

(*d*) *Conſtitut. ib.*

(*e*) *Windeck. Can. & Leg conſens & diſſ.*

(*f*) *Paſq. Rock. l. 9. c. 41.*

Laws. Moſt of which particulars have been taken notice of by *Budæus*, *Hottoman*, *Valla* and others.

Nor is the *Code* leſs lyable to Cenſure, for beſides that it wants much of the purity and Learning, which appear in the *Pandects*; *Tribonian*'s unskilfulneſs or inſincerity do more viſibly diſplay themſelves here. For whereas, almoſt all the Books of the Ancient Lawyers are now loſt (the blame whereof, if ſome Men's ſuſpicions may be credited, will fall heavy on the Emperor or *Tribonian*) from whoſe labours the *Pandects* were collected, and therefore we are leſs able to judge, of any unfair dealing, that has been ſhown there: Many of the Emperor's Conſtitutions do yet remain and have been preſerv'd in the *Theodoſian Code*, from all which it is eaſie to determine, what ſort of treatment, the Imperial Conſtitutions have met with, in *Tribonian*'s new Compilation. Some of the Conſtitutions have been alter'd without Judgment, and others in ſuch a manner as betray no little ignorance in the Compiler; in ſome the words are ſtruck out, that determine the Senſe of the Law, and again words added that give it a new one; one Law is ſplit into two, and ſometimes two are

run

run into one; the time and date are often miſtaken, and ſometime the Perſon; the knowing of both which does afford great light to a Conſtitution: With other miſtakes, which I ſhould not have ventur'd to have put down, had they not been ſhown at large, in a Learned Preface and more Learned Prolegomena to the *Theodoſian Code*: A Code of ſuch uſe to this day, that there is no underſtanding *Juſtinian*'s Law without it; and formerly of ſuch authority that for ſeveral hundred years after *Juſtinian*'s time, it did obtain (*g*) in moſt of the Weſtern parts of *Europe* when *Juſtinian*'s Law was in a manner extinguiſh'd and forgot, and muſt utterly have periſh'd, at leaſt in the principal part of it, the Pandects, had it not been ſtrangly preſerv'd, in the ſingle *Piſan* or Florentine Copy, from which all our other Copies (*h*) have been ſince taken; and is now us'd as Law: So that by a ſtrange Reverſe of things, *Juſtinian*'s Law which for ſo many Ages was loſt or neglected, does now obtain, and the Theodoſian Code is in a manner antiquitated: The Theodoſian Code was the better Law, till the Reign of *Lotharius*, when *Juſtinian*'s Law begun to revive; and now, it ſeems, *Juſtinian*'s Law

(*g*) *V. Seld. Diſ. ad Flet. c. 5. v. Paſq. Rech. l. 9. ch. 36.*

(*h*) *Ant. Auguſt. Emend. l. 1. c. 1.*

Law is better than that, and Time, or Chance, or Opinion ſhall determine their worth. It is plain *Juſtinian*'s Law had not the ſame eſteem at its birth, as it has ſince acquir'd by Age, ſince it could go into diſuſe ſo early after its conception, as to make it a queſtion, whether it obtain'd its Courſe (*i*) in *Juſtinian*'s own reign? Or if it obtain'd then, as doubtleſs it did, it kept its ground a ſhort time till the Reigns of *Baſilius* and *Leo*, when *Juſtinian*'s Law was Abridg'd and Reform'd by thoſe Emperors, as he had done by the Laws before his own time; and theſe Emperors Laws obtain'd in the Eaſt (under the Title of the *Baſilic Conſtitutions*) till diſolution of that Empire, as the Theodoſian Code had done in the Weſt. So that if we might meaſure things by Succeſs or Duration, *Juſtinian's* Laws have not yet been long liv'd, and what is more ſurpriſing, it might perhaps be made a Qneſtion, in what Senſe they live now? For if we will believe a noted Author, who had reaſon to underſtand their Authority and Extent (*k*) they have not now the force of Laws, either in *France*, *Spain* or *Holland*, (ſome of the moſt conſiderable Nations in *Europe*) but have only the force of good Reaſons or Authority when

(*i*) *Paſq. Rech. l. 9. C. 33.*

(*k*) *Sr. W. Temp. Obſ. 1. p. 161.*

when alledg'd, but the Customs and Statutes of those Places, are only Laws. And of this Opinion Mr. *Selden* * seems to be, as to the other *European* Nations, whose Opinion is very considerable in this Matter.

* *Seld. Dis. ad Flet. Cap.* 6.

After the consideration of the Pandects and Code, if I should take in all those large Volumes, that have been writ upon them, I should make no end. The first attempts of this kind were pretty modest, only by explaining the Text in short Glosses, which was *Accursius*'s method: But he having not had the assistances of Humane Learning and particularly of the Greek Tongue, the want of these have betray'd him to gross and childish mistakes: And it is a wretched Gloss, where a Sentence of Greeks occurs in the Text, *Hæc Græca sunt quæ nec legi nec intelligi possunt.* And yet his Authority is great in the Law, much greater than that of his Son; of whom it is said he never made a good Gloss (*l*).

(*l*) *V. Gryphiand. de Inst. p.* 9. 10.

Commentaries succeeded Glosses and have swoln to a larger Bulk: In this kind, *Bartolus* is of great name; whose Authority is as much valu'd in some Nations amongst the Modren Lawyers, as *Papinian*'s was among the Ancients; who

who, as he was to be follow'd, where the Opinions of the Lawyers were equally divided, (*m*) ſo *Bartolus*'s Opinions of late have been of like force. He was confeſſedly an extraordinary Man, and might have done more ſervice in his Profeſſion, had he not liv'd under the ſame Infelicity of times, and wanted the ſame helps that *Accurſius* did, whereby he daſh'd againſt the ſame Rocks. It was from him, we have had that noted and almoſt Proverbial ſaying that has caſt ſome reproach upon the Law, (*n*) *De verbebus non curat Juris conſultus*, an odd expreſſion for an Interpreter of that Law, one Title whereof is, *of the ſignification of Words*: But this was a Title, that he did not care to meddle with, and which his Enemies have charg'd him, with not daring to explain. Notwithſtanding all his Faults, he ought not to have been treated ſo reproachfully by *L. Valla*, and the Men of Polite Letters; for however unpoliſh'd he may be in his Style, or nice or obſcure in expreſſions, or however ignorant in Hiſtory or Roman Cuſtomes, it is certain, he is not that Gooſe and Aſs, that *Valla* (*o*) would make him; and that he has more Law, tho the others may have more Learning.

(*m*) *Duck de uſu. l.* 1. *c.* 8.

(*n*) *V. vit. Baxt. ap. Freber.*

(*o*) *Op. p.* 632.

The Polite Men of this Set, who gave the last turn to the Law, were *Alciat*, *Cujacius*, *Budæus* and others; they have indeed restor'd the Law to its primitive Purity and Lustre, and cloath'd it in a more elegant Dress, and made that a pleasant study, which in the hands of *Bartolus* and *Baldus* was uncouth and rugged; They have given it all the advantages of Humane Learning, and ransackt all the Stores of Arts and Sciences to fetch thence Beauties to adorn it: But whilst they have busied themselves in various Learning, and attended to too many things at once, they have been thought wanting in the one main thing; and have had less Law, than many of those whom they censure and despise. *Ant. Augustinus*, who should have been nam'd with the first of this Rank and Order, does in a manner confess the charge, and owns that *Budæus* whilst he had been too much distracted, in attaining the Tongues, had made no great progress in the knowledge of the Law. The most considerable improvements, that have been made by these Men, have been principally upon one Title, about *the significations of Words*, in which, however they may have excell'd, they have been rewarded by *Bartolus*'s followers, with no better

Character

Character, than that of Grammarians and Critics. And indeed many of their Diſcoveries are not very remarkable and ſome of them trifling; a Catalogue of which may be had in *Albericus Gentilis*'s two laſt Dialogues, which becauſe it is two ſportful, I forbear to mention. That wherein they uncontеſtedly excell being the Signification of words, will be allow'd to fall much ſhort of the knowledge of things.

One thing ſhould not have been omitted, that has occaſion'd no little obſcurity and confuſion: when the Law by the Bulk and number of Books that were Writ, was grown too voluminous, a way was taken up of contracting it into a narrow Compaſs, by ſhort Notes and Abbreviations: This way was found to be of ſuch uſe and ſo Compendious, that it prevail'd much, but its inconvenience was quickly diſcover'd from the Ambiguity that ſuch ſhort Notes were ſubject to, and therefore they were forbid by a Conſtitution (*p*) of *Juſtinian*. However the miſchief was not ſo eaſily remedy'd as forbid, for it ſtill prevailed, and that almoſt in *Juſtinian*'s own time, and ſome of them have crept into the Florentine Pandects, which tho not ſo Ancient as *Juſtinian*, (as ſome have

(*p*) Cod. l. 1. Tit. 17.

M 2 been

been of opinion, but whom this very thing (*q*) does sufficiently confute) yet must be granted to have been writ soon after; and at last they grew to that height, and occasion'd such Confusion and Ambiguity, that several Treatises have been writ to explain them; a Collection of which, and a Specimen of the notes may be had in *Putschius*. Even of late they have been found so troublesome, that the *Italian* entred them in his Prayer, amongst the three Evils he Petition'd to be deliver'd from, (he might have deprecated greater Evils) and after, *Da furia de villani*, and *Da guazzabuglio di medici*; *Da gli & cætera de notai*, was the third Petition (*r*).

(q) *V. Aug. Aug. Emend. l. 1. c. 1.*

(r) *V. Herm. Hug. de Orig. Scr. c. 21.*

And here again, as in the entrance upon this Chapter, I must profess my esteem for the Roman Laws, which I would by no means be thought to undervalue, and all that I infer or pretend to prove is this, that no humane Laws are exempt from faults, since those that have been lookt upon as most perfect in their kind have been found upon Enquiry, to have so many.

CHAP

CHAP. XIV.

Of Canon Law.

I Have no design to bring contempt upon the Antient Canons, which were doubtless, very well fitted for the occasions of the Church in its purer Ages; having been fram'd by Men of Primitive Simplicity, in free and conciliar Debates, without any ambitious Regards. That which is justly complain'd of is, that these Canons are too much neglected, and a New sort of Discipline erected in the Church, establish'd upon different foundations and oft-times for different ends with the former; which is so notorious, that it has given occasion to a distinction amongst some Members of the Church of *Rome*, betwixt the Old and New Law: Especially amongst the French, who pretend that the *Gallican Priviledges*, are chiefly Remainders of the Ancient Canons, which they have preserv'd against the Encroach-

ments of the Roman Pontif. For that Prelate having taken advantage of the fall of the Roman Empire, and of the confuſion among his Neighbours, upon the Inundation of the *Goths* and *Vandals* and other Barbarous People; and of the ignorance that enſu'd thereon; made a pretty eaſie ſhift to erect a New Empire, and for its ſupport it was neceſſary to contrive and frame a New Law. I ſhall not recount the ſeveral advances that were made, in the ſeveral Ages; *Iſidor's* Collection was the great and bold Stroke, which tho, in its main parts, it has been ſince diſcover'd (*f*) to be as impudent a Forgery as ever was, yet to this Day ſtands recorded for good Authority in the Canon Law.

(*f*) *V. Blond. Pſeudo-Iſ. & Jur. Vap.*

The two principal parts of this Law, are, the *Decree*, and the *Decretals*, which to give them the greater face of Authority, anſwer to the Pandects and Code in the Civil Law: For as the Pandects contain the Anſwers and Opinions of famous Lawyers; and the Code, the Decrees made and Sentences given by Emperors; ſo the Decree conſiſts chiefly of the Opinions of the Fathers and Definitions of Councils; and the Decretals, of the occaſional Sentences and Decrees of Popes. As to the *Clementines* and *Ex-*

Extravagants, which may anſwer to the Novels, they are only Suppliments to the other two parts, and we have yet no Inſtitutes in the Canon Law. For as to *Lancelottus*'s Book of Inſtitutes, which *Dr. Duck* ſeems to make a part of the *Corpus*, he is therein miſtaken, for wanting Sanction and Authority, (*u*) it is only yet a private work.

(*u*) *Doujat Hiſt. du Droit Can. Par.* 2. *Cha.* 20.

The Decree carries contradiction in its very Title, being *Concordantia Diſcordantium Canonum*, or a Concordance of diſagreeing Canons: Or if there were none in the Title, I doubt there are too many in the Body of the Work, which have occaſion'd innumerable *Gloſſes* and buſi'd the Canoniſts in reconciling them. It having been compil'd by *Gratian* in an Ingnorant Age, we ought not to be too nice in examining it and perhaps it were unreaſonable to require too much accuracy, amongſt ſo much Ignorance; and therefore if his Style in Latin be ſomewhat Courſe, or if in quoting a Greek Father or Council, he miſtakes their meaning, or gives a wrong one, that might eaſily be forgiven him, Greek being a Language, that was not underſtood in that Age, and was rather the misfortune of the time, than his own: But then if he gives us ſuch Fathers and Councils

as have no Being, or if he miſtakes a Father for a Council or a Conncil for a Father; this ſurely is not ſo pardonable, and yet this is, what he has been charg'd with, (x) by Authors of his own Communion. And among the Jeſuits, who are not uſually wanting in the Cauſe of their Church, *Bellarmin* owns, that he has quoted a Heretick inſtead of a Father. And the poor Monk having probably never ſeen many of the Decrees and Councils, that he had occaſion to uſe, nor trac'd his Authorties to their Fountains, but having made uſe of others Collections, it was impoſſible but he ſhould fall into miſtakes; which are ſo numerous, eſpecially in the names of Perſons and Places, that a Man had need of good skill in Hiſtory, and of a New Geography to underſtand him aright; and without ſuch helps, one may eaſily loſe himſelf in travelling the Decree.

(x) *Ant. Aug. De Emend. Grat. Dial.* 1. &c.

It might be expected that he ſhould be pretty exact in the names of Popes, theſe being his Lawgivers, whoſe Authority he makes uſe of upon all occaſions, and yet even in theſe he frequently miſcaries, and gives us ſuch names as were never heard of in Ancient Story. I can never read him, but he puts me

me in mind of a late noted Author, who has given us a *Church History of Bishops and their Councils*; for as in that Book, you may meet with a Council at *Arausican*, (y) Another at *Toletane* and a third at *Vienna* near *France*, with others as remote from knowledge, as these are; so in *Gratian*, you may find like mistakes, only altering the Language, a *Concilium Aurasicense*, *Anquiritanum*, *Bispalense*, and more of the like nature: one would be tempted to think, that *Mr. B.* had study'd the Canon Law and had borrow'd his Authorities from thence.

(y) *V. Mr. B. & Dr. M's Answ.*

After so much Ignorance, we are not to wonder, if *Gratian* have no very favourable opinion of Humane Learning, which is condemned in the Decree, more particularly Poetry and Logic: Those of the highest order in the Church, even Bishops themselves (z) are forbid to read Books of Heathen Learning, and St. *Jerom*'s Authority is urg'd who was reprov'd by an Angel for reading *Cicero*. It is true the Canonists endeavour to reconcile this, by alledging other places in the Decree, where Learning is allowed, and by showing it to be *Gratian*'s way, to cite differing Canons and Opinions to the same purpose; and I will

(z) *V. Distinct. 37. Episcopus Gentilium libros non legat—*

will grant ſo much if they pleaſe, but then it can be no great commendation of a Law, that it contains ſuch contrary Opinions, that it muſt be another Man's work to reconcile them. Nor does his Morality exceed his Learning; the Decree in caſe of two Evils, the one of which is unavoidable, allows us to chuſe the leſs (*a*); which although the Canoniſts would underſtand of the Evil of puniſhment, yet it ſeems pretty plain from the Text, and the Inſtances there produc'd, that it muſt be underſtood of the Evil of Sin; in which Senſe the Caſe can never happen, unleſs we will admit of a neceſſity of ſining, which is as impoſſible in Morality, as any the greateſt difficulty can be, in Nature. That which follows in the 34*th* Diſtinction is yet worſe, *is qui non habet uxorem, & pro uxore Concubinam habet, a Communione non repellatur*; which in modeſty I forbear to tranſlate, and could hardly have believe it, to have been in *Gratian*: And when I firſt met with it there, I thought it had been only to be found in ſome old Editions, and concluded with my ſelf, it muſt be amended in that more correct and authoriz'd Edition by *Gregory* XIII. But was ſtill more ſurpris'd, when I found it ſtand there uncorrected,

(*a*) *Diſtinct.* 13.

ed, as if there had been no hurt done. I think nothing can be ſaid worſe, unleſs what is ſaid by the Learned *Ant. Auguſtinus* in his fifteenth Dialogue of his *Emendation*, to be in ſome Books of *Gratian* be ſo, *Qui non habet uxorem, loco illius Concubinam habere debet.* If any thing can be ſaid worſe of them, than they have ſaid themſelves, it may be had in *Luther* (*b*) who began the Reformation with burning the Canon Law, and in vindication of what he had done, made a Collection of ſuch Articles, as were moſt liable to give offence. I have not yet compar'd his Quotations with the Text, and therefore do not put them down, but if they be faithful, I am ſure there is enough, to give a Man a hard opinion of the Canon Law.

(*b*) *Oper. Tom.* 2. *p.* 120. *Wit.*

The Decretals tho not altogether ſo groſs as the Decree, are more Imperious, having appear'd in the world, when the Papal Power was grown to its full height, and having been compil'd by *Gregory* IX. and conſiſting principally of the Conſtitutions of *Innocent* III. the firſt of whom wag'd almoſt a continual War with an Emperor; and the latter Subjugated a King, and call'd him his *Vaſſal*, nothing better could be expected. For tho ſeveral Conciliar Decrees and Canons

Canons were intermix'd, with the Papal Conſtitutions, yet they are with ſuch Exceptions and Reſervations to the Pope's diſpenſing Power and abſolute Dominion, that they became uſeleſs: Pope's were now become the Fountain, of all Power, and both Princes and Councils were brought under their Obedience. It is expreſly ſaid in the Decretals (c) *That no Councils have prefix'd Laws to the Church of* Rome, *inasmuch as all Councils do borrow their Authority from that Church, and the Papal Authority is excepted in them all.* And *Innocent*, in the Title, *De Majoritate*, exalts the Papal Power as much above the Regal, as Spiritual things are better than Temporal, or the Soul Superior to the Body; and having compar'd theſe two Powers, to the two great Lights in the Firmament, infers from thence, That the Pontifical Authority, is as much Superior to the Regal, as the Sun is greater than the Moon. Upon which there ariſing ſome difference, concerning the proportion of Magnitude, betwixt theſe two Luminaries, and conſequently betwixt theſe two other great Powers; the Gloſs does learnedly refer us, to *Ptolemy*'s *Almageſt* to adjuſt the proportion. But I need not cite particular Conſtitutions,

(c) *Lib.* 1. *Tit.* 6. *Cap.* 4.

ſtitutions, a good part of the Decretals turning upon this point, and reſolving all into a Monarchical Power at *Rome*: For which reaſon the five Books of *Gregory* (*d*) have not yet been receiv'd in *France* without Reſtrictions; no more than the ſixth Book of *Boniface* VIII. has been.

(*d*) *Doujat. Hiſt. du Droit Can. Par.* 2. *Ch.* 15. 17.

The *Clementines*, notwithſtanding a good part of them were given in a pretended General Council at *Vienna* in *France*, yet are no Conciliar Decrees, only the Conſtitutions of *Clement* V. Such having been the manner of ſome of the late Weſtern Councils, That the Biſhops were only Aſſeſſors or Adviſers, or at the moſt Aſſenters, and the Pope alone defin'd in a pretty abſolute manner; and therefore they are not ſtyl'd Decrees of ſuch a Council, only the Conſtitutions of *Clement* in the Council at *Vienna*. The *Extravagants* are tedious things, and want that Majeſty, which Brevity gives to Sanctions and Decrees: Both they and the *Clementines* have this beſides, that having been compil'd in the Scholaſtick Age of the Church, they are mixt with Theological Queſtions, and are as much Divinity, as Law.

Nor

Nor is the Gloſs better than the Text, which, however it be of great authority among the Canoniſts, yet it may be juſtly queſtioned, whether it deſerves ſo much? For to take things as they riſe and to go no further than the firſt Page of the Decree: *Gratian* having begun his Book very properly, by diſtinguiſhing betwixt the ſeveral ſorts of Right, and having ſaid that *Jus*, was ſo called becauſe it was *Juſt*. The Gloſs upon this obſerves, that there is a Right that is neither Equitable nor Juſt (*e*) and produceth Inſtances, that are neither pertinent, nor prove the Point; and then concludes, that in all Caſes upon a Reaſon and for public Good, Rigor is induc'd againſt natural Equity, and in ſome Caſes, without a Reaſon. Take another Inſtance upon the Decretals, (*f*) which beginning with the Symbol, of our Faith: upon that the Author of the Gloſs enquiries into the nature of Faith, and having paſs'd the Apoſtle's account, as an imperfect Definition, gives a much more inſufficient one of his own; for which he is juſtly chaſtis'd by *Eraſmus*: And as for the word Symbol that ſhould not ſeem to be over difficult, he derives it from, *Syn*, and *Bolus*, which in the Language of the Gloſs does ſignifie,

(*e*) *Quandoque eſt aliquod, jus, quod non eſt æquum nec juſtum— Diſt.* 1.

(*f*) *Lib.* 1. *Tit.* 1.

nifie, *Morſellus*; and then enquiring into the number of Symbols, he adds a fourth to the other three; for no reaſon that I can ſee, unleſs it were, that they might anſwer to ſo many Goſpels. Beſides other leſs miſtakes upon the ſame Title, which I paſs over, becauſe the ſame Gloſs ſays, that, *Modicum quid non nocet*, and cites the Decretals * for it, where *modica res*, is ſaid not to induce Simony; and yet the *Modica Res*, there mention'd, is a Horſe.

* *Lib.* 5. *Tit.* 3. *c.* 18.

The Canoniſt are too numerous to be mention'd here, and therefore I paſs them over, and indeed they generally keep to their Text, and run out upon the power of the Pope, to the great Diminution of Councils, or indeed of any other Authority: And whereas in that large Collection of Tracts that was publiſh'd at *Venice*, there are two Groſs Volumes concerning the power of Popes, and their Cardinals; it is very obſervable, that there is ſcarce any thing ſaid of Councils, unleſs by ſuch, as will be ſure to ſubject them to the Pope. That Haughty Biſhop is their darling Theme, and one of them has gone ſo low, as to write a Tract, (g) about *the Adoration of his Feet*. Nor ſhall I inſiſt upon the differing

(g) Joſeph. Stevan. val. *Tract. De adoratione Pedum Romani Pontificis* Tom. 13.

fering Opinions and Constitutions in the Decree and Decretals, in how many things they interferr and cross, and in how many more, they contradict the Civil Law. *Bapt a Sancto Blasio*, has furnish'd us with two hundred contradictions betwixt the Canon and Civil Law: *Zanetin* has discover'd a great many differences of the same kind, and I suppose it were no hard matter, to swell the account yet higher: But I I leave those, we have already, to be reconcil'd by the Learned in the Law.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

Of Physic.

IF any credit may be given to *Pliny* (*i*) we shall have no reason to boast of the Invention of Physic, two great Operations in that Art, having been owing to two inconsiderable Creatures. Bleeding and Purge have been taught us by the *Hippopotamus* and *Ibis*, the former of which being over-charg'd with Blood, breaths a Vain by rowling himself among the sharp reeds of the *Nile*; and the latter sucking in the Salt Water, administers a Cathartic, by turning her Bill upon her Fundament. I will not vouch for my Author, (whom if I would make use of, it should be to a different purpose, in showing, how little reliance there is upon our Natural History) although the account he gives here of Physic may be as true, as theirs

(*i*) *Lib.* 8. *c.* 26. 27.

is, who fetch its Original from *Æsculapius* and *Apollo*.

It is doubtless ancient, Men's necessity and desire of Health did put them early upon this search, and *Hippocrates* who liv'd 2000 years ago has left a Treatise concerning *ancient Physic*; so that it was ancient in his time. But the Physic then in use was chiefly Emperical, *Hippocrates* brought in the Rational way, and what he did in this Art, did so far surpass others labours, that their Works are in a manner lost and forgot; and *Hippocrates* who was then a Modern, is to us a very ancient Author. His Age gave him Authority, and although that, and his short way of writing, have rendred him less intelligible to ordinary Readers, yet he was almost universally follow'd: His *Aphrisms* have been lookt upon as Maximis, and *Macrobius*(k) speaks of his knowledge in such lofty strains, as are only agreeable to God Almighty. Notwithstanding, of late he has been discover'd to be a frail Man, his Aphorisms have been examin'd, and the danger detected, in blindly following great Names; and how mischievous the consequences may have been, in an implicit submission to all his Rules, may

(k) *Hippocrates — qui tam fallere quam falli nescit Lib.* 1.

may appear from one, which once crudely ſwallow'd, has coſt ſo many lives, all which might have been ſav'd, had the contrary practice been ventured upon ſooner, which is now found (*l*) to be not only Safe but Salutary.

(*l*) *Boyl. uſ. Exper. Phil. Par.* 2. *p.* 5.

Galen as he differs from *Hippocrates* in ſome things, ſo he follows him in the main, and both in explaining his Author, and where he gives us his own Sentiments, is ſomewhat tedious; he tires and diſtracts his Reader as much by being too large, as the other does, by ſaying too little, which yet might be excus'd, had he in ſo many groſs Volumes and different Treatiſes, left us a Compleat Body of Phyſic. But this he is ſo far from having done, that it ſcarce ſeems to have been in his deſign; moſt of his pieces having been undertaken with particular views, either to gratifie Friends, or as helps of memory, or exerciſes of invention. His Anatomical Pieces, which have been cry'd up above meaſure, have been leſs admir'd, ſince nicer Obſervations have been made in Anatomy, than he was capable of making; and thoſe which he has made, are often erroneous, for want of Comparative Anatomy, in comparing and di-

ſtinguiſhing, betwixt the Bodies of Men and Brutes: Moſt of his Obſervations having been made upon the latter, and it being queſtionable, whether he ever ſaw the diſſection of a Humane Body. Even his Treatiſe *De Uſu Partium* has been cenſur'd, as in many things grounded upon Inferences of his own, rather than upon Obſervations from Experience and View; and the Parts are deſcribed there in ſuch order, as none will think fit to imitate, unleſs any man can find method, in beginning with the hand and proceeding to the Foot, and ſo up again to the Belly. And tho' he has been remarkable for his care and tenderneſs of Life, which he has expreſs'd, as in other Inſtances, ſo particularly in being againſt publiſhing exquiſite Treatiſes of the Nature of Poyſons, yet I queſtion whether it will be thought another Inſtance of it, that he ſometimes took away ſix pounds of Blood (*m*) in a Feaver: And bled his Patients, till by fainting they could bear no longer, for which he was twitted in his own time, as appears from his Books (*n*) and was ſaid to work Cures by murthering Diſeaſes.

(*m*) *De curand. Rat. per Sang. miſſ. cap.* 14.

(*n*) *De Meth. Med. l.* 9. *c.* 4.

Whatever faults he had muſt have been deriv'd upon his Succeſſors, for as he com-

commented upon *Hippocrates*, ſo the following Phyſitians have copy'd *Galen*. The Greeks *Oribaſius*, *Aigineta*, and *Ætius* have in a manner tranſcribed him; and *Avicen* and the Arabians have done little more, than tranſlate *Galen* into their own Tongue: And their Tranſlations having not been over faithfull, and the Verſion double; firſt from the *Greek* to the *Arabic*, and from that back again into the Latin, they cannot be depended upon without imminent hazard, eſpecially in the names of Drugs and Plants, where the miſtake in a word, may endanger a Life. They were ſubtle Men and moſt of them Logicians, accordingly they have given method, and ſhed ſubtilty upon their Author and little more can be ſaid for them.

The Chymiſts have appear'd with ſo much Oſtentation, and with ſuch Contempt of the Arabians and *Galen*, that we have been made to expect wonders from their performances. *Paracelſus* who would be thought the Head of a Sect, has treated the Galeniſts ſo rudely, as if they were the moſt ignorant Men in the World, and had little skill beyond a Plaiſter or a Purge: Tho neither

ther ought he, to have vaunted so much of his Discoveries; One of his great Admirers (*o*) having shown, that some part of his skill was stole: And it is some prejudice against him, that a Man who pretended to such immortal Remedies, should himself die in his forty-seventh year, whereas *Hippocrates* and *Galen* are said to have lived beyond a hundred.

(*o*) *Helmont. Chym. Princ.*

If there be any thing certain in Chymistry, it ought to be their first Principles, which the Chymists have substituted in the place of others, which they have thought fit to explode; and pretend that theirs are so evident from the *Analysis* of Bodies, that there can be no room for doubt; and yet whereas at first, we had only three of these Principles, their number is already swoln to five, and who knows whether they may stop there? Or whether their practice be better grounded than the principles they go on? For tho great Cures have been effected by Chymical prescriptions, and those too in a manner less cloying and nauseous, than the former practice would admit of, by separating the Faeces, with which the Galenical Medicines are clog'd; yet the question

queſtion will be, whether they be not attended with other inconveniences? Whether they be equally ſafe, and have no dangerous conſequences to diſcourage their uſe? It will not be deny'd, that the Chymical Preparations are more vigorous and potent in their effects than the Galenical are, and often work ſuch Cures, as the other groſs Medicines have not activity enough to effect: But then as their activity is great, is not the danger ſo too? And does not the ſame power, that enables them to heal, empower them to deſtroy? And whilſt the Cures are recorded, are not the miſcarriages forgot? Have not our Enterprizing Chymiſts ſometimes preſerv'd life, only to make it the more miſerable? And ſav'd their Patients by ruining their Conſtitutions? Have not their ſtrong *Opiats* often diſorder'd the Head? And their too free uſe of *Mercury*, *Antimony*, &c. the whole habit of the Body? If ſuch Cures be offer'd me, I hardly accept them. He is the true Phyſitian, who attends to all poſſible Conſequences, who does not heal one Diſeaſe, by procuring us a worſe, but reſtores ſuch a life, as a Man can enjoy; but where ſhall this Perfect Man be found?

Some have gone as far as *China* to find him out, of which People's skill such Wonders have been reported, as the Chymists themselves can hardly pretend to. The Circulation of the Blood, which with us is a Modern Discovery, has been known there according to *Vossius* (*p*) 4000 years, they have such skill in Pulses as is not to be imagin'd, but by those that are acquainted with them; and the Arabians are there said, to have borrow'd thence their knowledge in Physic. Even the Missionaries who have reason to know them best, grant, that there is somewhat surprising in their skill of Pulses, (*q*) tell us that they have made observation in Medicine 4000 years; and that when all the Books in *China* were ordered to be burnt by the Emperor *Chiohamti*, those in Physic were preserv'd by a particular exception. But yet they likewise acquaint us, that most of their skill is built upon Observations, which have not been improv'd, to such purposes as they would have been by the Europeans; and that for want of Philosophy and Anatomy the great Foundations of Medicine, their Notions are confus'd, and their Practice in some things ridiculous. The *Chinese* are

(*p*) *Var. Observat. p. 70. 71.*

(*q*) *Le Compte Let. 8.*

are an unaccountable ſort of People, ſtrangely compounded of Knowledge and Ignorance; they have had Printing among them, and Gun-powder, and the uſe of the Compaſs, long before they came among the Europeans; and yet for want of due improvement, theſe uſeful Inventions have not turn'd to any great account; and Phyſic has had the ſame Fate. So that after all our Travel, the moſt conſiderable improvements in this Art, are moſt probably to be found at home; and being ſo near, need not be much enquir'd into.

We have generally Men enough ready to publiſh diſcoveries whether real or pretended, whilſt deficiences in moſt Arts are often conceal'd or paſs'd by in ſilence. What noiſe have we had for ſome years about *Tranſplantation* of Diſeaſes, and *Tranſfuſion* of Blood, the latter of which has taken up ſo much room in the *Journal Des Scavans*, and Philoſophical Tranſactions; and the Engliſh and French have contended for the diſcovery; which notwithſtanding as far as I can ſee, is like to be of no uſe or Credit to either Nation. The retrieving the Ancient *Brittanica* has made no leſs noiſe, *Muntingius* has writ

writ a Book upon it, and we were made to hope for a ſpecific againſt the Scurvy: After all it is like to come to nothing, and men looſe their Teeth and die as they did before. The Circulation of the Spirits is a third Invention, which, if I might have leave to judge, I ſhould think ſcarce capable of being prov'd; for neither are the Spirits themſelves viſible, nor, as far as I know, does any Ligature or Tumor in the Nerve diſcover their Motion. The Circulation of the Blood has indeed been ſaid to be demonſtrated to Senſe by *Monſieur Leeuwenhoek*, by the help of his Glaſſes, and Men have been lookt upon as dull, that will not ſee it; I will not queſtion the Fact, tho I cannot but obſerve, that a late *Italian* (r) Author has in effect done it for me, who either has not met with *M. Leeuwenhoek* and his Experiments, or cannot ſee ſo clearly in his Glaſſes as he does; which however it be, ought to be ſome check upon aſſurance. I might enumerate a world of ſuch like particulars; *Anwald's Panacea* diſcuſs'd by *Libavius*, and *Butler*'s Stone ſo much magnifi'd by *Helmont*, were as much talkt of in their own time as moſt things

(r) *Hom. Piſo Cremonæ An. 99. ap. Act. Lips.*

things we can pretend to, and yet they are dead and have been buried with their Authors.

The moſt conſiderable real diſcoveries that have been lately made, have been in Anatomy, and Botany: no Man in his right wits, will conteſt the former; tho the diſcoveries in that kind have been rather in the parts of the Body, than in the Humors and Spirits and Blood, which are the principal Seat of Health as well as Diſeaſe: For the firſt ſeem deſign'd for Strength and Motion, and fall not improperly under the Surgeon's Skill; the latter are the Seat of Life and under the conſideration of Phyſic, and are yet imperfectly underſtood. Till theſe be thoroughly known, which perhaps they never will, there will be one fundamental Deficiency in our Phyſic.

Another great Deficiency was obſerv'd by my *Lord Bacon* (*f*) in his time, that will I believe always hold, and that is in Compartive Anatomy: He then granted, as we may with more ſafety, that ſimple Anatomy had been clearly handled, and that the ſeveral parts

(*f*) Adv. of Learn. *l.* 4. *c.* 2.

parts had been diligently obſerv'd and deſcrib'd; but the ſame parts in different Perſons had not been duly compar'd, nor have they yet been; tho we may differ as much in the inward parts of our Bodies, as we do in our outward Features, and that difference may occaſion great variety in Application and Cure. This is a deficiency that is not like to have a ſpeedy remedy, requiring more Diſſections than moſt Men have opportunity of making.

Nor are the deficiences leſs in the Botanic part; for though this ſort of knowledge be mightily enlarg'd, ſince the diſcovery of the Eaſt and Weſt *Indies*, by opening a vaſt Field, and giving a much larger range to it than it had before, yet the great difficulty remains ſtill to be overcome: our Herbals, it is true, are ſufficiently ſtor'd with Plants, and we have made a tolerable ſhift, to reduce them to *Claſſes*, and to deſcribe them by Marks and Signatures, ſo far as to deſtinguiſh them from one anøther: But as their Characteriſtic marks are known, are their Virtues ſo too? I believe no Man will venture to affirm it. The qualities of many

many of our Plants and Simples are yet in the dark, or ſo uncertain in their operations, that they are rather matter of Curioſity, than Subjects of Skill: Or where ſome of their vertues are too remarkable to be conceal'd, yet they act one way ſingly, and quite otherwiſe in Mixture and Compoſition; or they may have one effect, when outwardly applied, and a quite different one when taken inwardly, after they have undergone ſo many alterations in the Blood and Stomach, as they muſt do, before they can reach the part affected; and they may again vary, according to the different temper of the Bodies, to which they are applied. It is not enough to ſay, their natures may be known by being Chymically reſolved, for their effects are often very diſproportionable to the principles and parts that reſult from the *Analyſis*; there are other parts more ſubtle, and yet moſt active and vigorous in their Operation, that act upon the Spirits, as the groſſer part do upon the Blood and Humors, and thoſe the ſubtileſt Chymiſts, and the moſt exquiſite Analyſis will not be able to reach.

In

In ſhort whether we conſider our Bodies, or our Medecines, Phyſic muſt be the moſt uncertain thing imaginable: Our Bodies are more compounded and unequal, than other Bodies are, moſt other Creatures live upon a ſimple Diet and are regular in their Appetites; whereas Man feeds almoſt upon every thing, Fleſh and Fiſh, Fruits and Plants, from the Fruit of our Gardens to the Muſhrom upon the Dunghil; and where Appetite fails, the Invention is call'd in to ſwell the Account; high Sauces and rich Spices are fetch'd from the *Indies*, which occaſion ſtrong Fermentations and infinite diſorder in the Blood and Humors: Hence proceed ſuch varity of Diſeaſes as perplex and diſtract the Phyſicians Skill. A ſound Body and Healthy Conſtitution is eaſily reſtor'd when out of order, Nature in a great meaſure does its own work, (a noted inſtance whereof, we have in *Cornaro* in *Leſſius*, who by regularity and temperance had brought an infirm Body to ſuch a temper, that he was not troubled with any Diſeaſe, and any wound in him would in a manner heal it ſelf) whereas in a diſ-

ordered

ordered Body, every little thing is Wound and Diſeaſe, and a Phyſitian muſt give a new Conſtitution, before he can perfect a Cure, this is a hard tryal upon our Phyſitian, and yet by our way of living we often require it.

It is the harder, becauſe his Medicines and Methods of Cure will not enable him to work Wonders: For tho our *Materia Medica* be large enough, and to look into our Diſpenſatories, one would think no Diſeaſe incurable, yet the miſchief of it is, all thoſe fine Medicines, do not always anſwer in the Application, nor have they been found ſo Soverain in our Bodies, as they are in our Books. All which things have ſo diſtracted our Phyſitians, that they vary even in the moſt common Methods: At one time they keep their Patients ſo cloſe and warm, as almoſt to ſtifle them with care, and all on a ſudden the Cold *Regimen* is in vogue; In one Age *Alkalies* are in fashion, and in the next *Acids* begin to recover Credit; *Antimony* at one time is next to Poyſon, and again, the moſt innocent thing in the world, if duly prepared:

Bleeding

Bleeding is practis'd in one Nation, and condemn'd by their Neighbours; some People are prodigal of their Blood, and others so sparing, as if so much Life and Blood went together; *Helmont* and his Followers are for the latter way, *Galen* and *Willis* and their Followers encourage the former; and all of them, as you will imagine, with equal assurance.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

Of Critical Learning.

CRiticiſm as it is uſually practis'd, is little more than an Art of finding Faults, and thoſe commonly little ones too, and ſuch as are of ſmall importance to the Scope and Deſign of an Author. Monſieur *Bayle* was ſenſible of this, whoſe firſt deſign was, to publiſh a Dictionary of Faults, but was diverted from his Purpoſe, by his Friends repreſenting to him, that they were not conſiderable enough to be inſiſted on: And yet he had that to ſay for himſelf, that they were ſuch as were taken notice by *Scaliger* and other noted Critics, either ſome miſtake in a Name, Time, Place, or other minute Circumſtance. The truth of it is, Criticiſm is at a low Ebb, Men will be finding faults in Authors, and yet our ſtore is well near exhauſted, for there

are few Faults in this kind, that have not been taken notice of.

Erasmus and the first set of Critics had Matter enough to work upon, a long Age of Ignorance had cut out sufficient Employment, by vitious Copies and obtruding Spurious for Genuine Authors; the distinguishing of which was a Work of Use and Skill: But after the Business is pretty well done, the Vein of Criticising still continues; Men will play at small Games rather than want Employment, so that our Modern Critics have usually either degenerated into Grammarians, or if they soar higher, it is too often; by venturing too freely upon those Books, which ought to be handled with greater tenderness: Their Business sometimes is in finding Faults, where there are none, or in perverting the Sense, that they may make room for Correction. And for as much as these Men do find Faults with all the World, they have no reason to take it amiss, if one who is none of their Number, does find one or two, in them. I shall seek for no more (nor have I room in the compass of a Chapter) but they shall be in two Critics of Name; one of whom has writ the *Art of Criticism*, the other, *A Critical History of the Old and New Testament*.

The

The former, Monsieur *le Clerc*, is as free in his Censures, as any Man I ever met with, and oft times as Unhappy: He begins with *Erasmus*, for I take the first thing I meet with, whom he expoeth (*t*) as ignorant in Geography, for having in his Notes upon *Act.* 28. mistaken *Regium*, a City in *Italy*, for a Town in *Sicily*; and for having took *Melita* an Island, either for *Mitylene* a City; or the same Island, that is situate in the *Mediterranean*, or *African* Sea, for an obscure Island in the *Adriatic*; and then falls foul on him, as a Man that had scarce ever seen a Geographical Map. It seem'd very strange to me, that *Erasmus* who is known to have writ his Commentaries upon the New Testament, with the Map of the *Roman* Empire always before him, should be guilty of such Errors in Geography, and therefore I had the curiosity to consult the Author: I have not so bad an Edition of *Erasmus*, as Monsieur *Le Clerc* quotes, nor do I believe he quotes him faithfully in any Edition, but I consulted the worst Edition I could meet with; in that, he is so far from placing *Rhegium* in *Sicily*, that he expressly says, it is a City in *Italy*, and corrects St. *Jerome* for having been guilty of so gross a mistake: And as to *Melita* the Island, he di-

(*t*) *Ars Crit. cap.* 1. *p.* 13. *Ed. Lond.*

rectly distinguisheth it from *Mitylene* the City, which Island he placeth betwixt *Africa* and *Sicily*, a Situation very different from that, which Monsieur *Le Clerc* endeavors to fasten upon him.

Monsieur *Le Clerc* in the next place is angry with *Erasmus* for quoting *Hugo Carrensis*, being an Author of no Credit, and one who liv'd in the Scholastic Age, and seems to think he was led into his Mistake, by trusting so mean an Authority: It is true *Erasmus* does quote *Hugo Carrensis*, but it is only to make sport with him, as he does sometimes with the Scholemen, and Monsieur *Le Clerc* needed not have gone above ten Lines further for a convincing Proof of this, where *Erasmus* calls upon his Reader to laugh (*u*) at *Hugo Carrensis* for his Critical Observation upon the Sign of *Castor* and *Pollux*.

(*u*) *In Act. Apostol.* 28. v. 11.

Well! But *Erasmus* is not yet clear of Monsieur *Le Clerc*, for he remembers, that *Erasmus* somewhere in his Notes upon St. *Jerome*'s Epistles, mistakes the City *Mitylene* for the Island *Melita*, only he forgets the particular place, but is somewhere, where St. *Jerome* mentions St. *Paul*'s Shipwrack: I always suspect a Man

Man where he forgets the place, and therefore I will help his Memory; it is in St. *Jerom*'s Epiſtle to *Oceanus* in the firſt Tome of *Eraſmus*'s Edition, where, if *Eraſmus* reads *Mitylene*, I ſuppoſe it was only becauſe, it was the ſame word, which was us'd by his Author St. *Jerom*, for both of them make it an Iſland and expreſly the ſame, where St. *Paul* ſuffered Shipwrack, and without queſtion the ſame, that *Eraſmus* meant in his Notes upon the *Acts*. If *Eraſmus* be to be blam'd in any thing, it is for making St. *Jerome*, read *Mitylene* inſtead of *Melita*, for in all the *MSS.* that I have ſeen of that Father, and I have ſeen more than one, the reading is, *Melita*: But I dare ſay that is more than *M. Le Clerc* knows. *Eraſmus* may have had miſtakes in Criticiſm, for tho he tells us of himſelf, that his care in publiſhing St. *Jerome* was ſuch, that it coſt him almoſt as much pains, in reſtoring his Works, as it did the Author in writing them; yet *Marianus Victorius* (*x*) pretends to have made 1500 Corrections upon him barely in the Edition of that Father; and the *Benedictines* no doubt have added more. But as for *M. Le Clerc*'s attacks, I dare be confident, they will neither

(*x*) *Epiſt. Pio Quarto*

ther hurt St. *Jerome* nor any of his Editors; tho he falls as foul upon the *Benedictines*, as he does upon *Erasmus*. He would gladly make the world believe, that they understand not Greek, and indeed they pretend less that way, and therefore their chief care hitherto has been in the Latin Fathers, in which they have deserv'd great Commendation: But as to *M. Le Clerc*'s Critical Observation (y) which he passeth upon them with so much Contempt, it is so far short of proof to me, that I cannot but think their mistake better than his Correction, I am sure more agreeble to St. *Jerome*'s meaning.

(y) *Tom. 2. cap. 13.*

He has past the same censure in another Work (z) upon one who has less deserv'd it, the Learned Sorbonist *Cotelerius*, who has not been suspected of want of Greek, till *M. Le Clerc* took him to task: He has caught him triping in his Greek, where all things were plain, and tells us he has shown it in his Notes upon *Barnabas* and *Clemens*. For my part I can meet with no material Corrections upon either of these Authors, and the only thing he chargeth him with in his Preface is, That he renders κεφαλαιωδῶς, *Capitulatim*, which in *M. Le*

(z) *Patres Apostol. Ant. 98.*

Clerc

Clerc's opinion, ſhould be *ſummatim*, which in reading our Animadverter, a Man would think *Cotelerius* had done, either in *Barnabas* or *Clement*'s Epiſtles. I have read over haſtily theſe three Epiſtles; I will not be over-poſitive, but I am pretty confident, the word does not occur in any one of the three; and if it be to be met with in the *Clementines*, it is nothing to the Animadverter's purpoſe; for we are not to expect to meet always with Claſſical Greek there, or with words, always in the ſenſe of Claſſical Authors. *Cotelerius* (*a*) has rendred the Verb κεφαλαιόω, as *M. Le Clerc* would have it; and if he have rendred the Adverb otherwiſe, it is probable it was not from miſtake, but judgment. Had *M. Le Clerc* conſider'd, that there is a ſort of Eccleſiaſtical Greek, very different from the Claſſical, he would have been more reſerv'd in his Cenſures. But this is a ſort of Greek, wherewith he ſeems not to be much acquainted. St. *Jerome*, who underſtood this ſort of Greek better than either of them, has rendred ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι by, *recapitulare* (*b*); and tho' *M. Le Clerc* ſhould oppoſe, I muſt think St. *Jerome* a good Tranſlator.

(*a*) *Barnab. Ep. p.* 1.

(*b*) *Ad Epheſ. cap.* 1. *v.* 10.

Our *Hiſtorian* is a Critic of a higher form, but ſets out as unfortunately as *M. Le Clerc* has done: To recommend the Critical Art to the World, he tells us, that in St. *Jerom*'s time ſeveral Ladies of Quality, made Criticiſm their Study; and to prove this (*c*), quotes an Epiſtle of that Father to *Junia* and *Fretella*, which ſhows them to have been knowing in the Greek and Hebrew. The Hebrew was ſo little known in that Age, that perhaps St. *Jerome* was the onely Perſon of his time, that underſtood it perfectly, except the Jewiſh Rabbins, who were his Inſtructors; and this Father *Simon* knows very well: But as to the Father's two Ladies, I can aſſure him, there were none of that name that underſtood a word of either Language; for *Sunnia* and *Fretella* were two Learned Men of St. *Jerom*'s Acquaintance. Somewhat of this was obſerv'd by a Friend of *Voſſius* (*d*); and if Father *Simon* have any doubt of the thing, I have that Epiſtle now before me in two very fair *Manuſcripts*; in both which, it is, *Dilectiſſimis Fratribus Sunniæ & Fretelæ.* This is no very great miſtake, but it is always ominous to ſtumble at the threſhold.

(*c*) *Hiſt. Crit. du Vieux Teſt. p.* 1. 2.

(*d*) *Let. à M. Juſtel.*

I

I will not trace him through his miſtakes; I will onely note one other, which an Engliſh-man has better opportunities of examining, than other Men have. Father *Simon* (*e*) has not taken more pains, upon any one Subject, than he has done upon the ancient Manuſcript *Cambridge* Copy of the Goſpels and Acts of the Apoſtles, and two other Manuſcript Copies of St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles; the one in the King of *France*'s Library; the other in the Library of the *Benedictines* of St. *Germain*: In the Latin Copies of which, he thinks he has diſcover'd the Ancient Vulgar Latin, as us'd in the Weſtern Church, before St. *Jerom*'s time, to whom we owe the Vulgar now in uſe. I ſhould be as glad, and would go as far to meet with the Ancient Vulgar of the New Teſtament, as any Man ſhould do; but cannot be of opinion, that Father *Simon* or *Morinus* have met with it in theſe *Manuſcripts*. For to ſpeak onely to the *Cambridge* Copy: Any one that has obſerv'd that *Manuſcript*, knows, that the Latin Copy anſwers the Greek ſo exactly, that there are very few various Readings: So that if the Latin be Ancient, as the Vulgar undoubtedly was almoſt

(*e*) *Hiſt. Crit. du N.T. c.* 30, 31, *&c. Hiſt. des verſ. c.* 3, 5, *&c.*

almoſt as Ancient as the Preaching of the Goſpel at *Rome*, the Greek probably is ſo too; and it will hardly be imagin'd, that had there been a Latin Copy ſo exactly agreeing with the Greek Original, before St. *Jerome*'s time, that he would have ventur'd upon, or have thought a new Tranſlation neceſſary. St. *Jerome*'s manner of reforming the Ancient Vulgar was, by comparing and reducing it to the Greek Original: But here was a Copy already, agreeing with the Greek. If it be ſaid, the Greek in that *Manuſcript* may be a more modern Copy, but ſtill before St. *Jerome*'s time, and that the Latin is tranſlated from it: This may be true; but then the Latin is no longer the Ancient Vulgar, but a later Verſion.

There is one pretty probable way of trying it, by comparing the Citations in the New Teſtament, with the ſame Texts, as they ſtand in the Ancient Vulgar, in the Old. This I have done in the *Pſalms*, and am far from meeting with any exact agreement: The ſame Obſervation will hold, in the Old Eccleſiaſtical Writers, as far as the Vulgar can be trac'd there; and I believe

ſieve *Hilary* the Deacon, who has been noted for keeping cloſeſt to the Old Tranſlation, will be no Exception to this Rule. Had Father *Simon* been as quick and diligent in obſerving Differences, as he has been in making Agreements, perhaps he would not have been ſo haſty in drawing his Concluſion: In many things there is an agreement betwixt the Ancient and Modern Vulgar, but no Man will conclude from thence, that they are the ſame.

Father *Simon* truly obſerves (*f*), that the Greek in theſe *Manuſcripts*, is very faulty, and grounds an Argument thereupon, that they could not for that Reaſon be brought from *Greece*. Had that Father had a Copy of the Latin Verſion of the *Cambridge* Manuſcript, as he has of the Greek, he would have found, that the Latin is the more faulty of the two; and that not only in the Orthography, but Concord. For what would he think of, *Hic verbus*, Joh. *c.*21. *v.*23. Or of, *Retiam*, *v.*6. and repeated, *v.*8. Or of, *Cum eſſet in Meſopotamiam poſteaquam mortuus eſſet in Charris*, inſtead of, *Prius quam moraretur in Charan*: Act. 7. *v.*2. Or of, *Eſſet ei Filium*, *v.* 5.

(*f*) *Hiſt. N. T. c.*30.

v. 5. Or of, *Juſtitias cæpiſset cum genus noſtrum*, *v.* 19? All which miſtakes are to be met with in two Chapters, and more, which I forbear to mention, as I do to tranſlate thoſe I have menti-on'd, becauſe I would not uncover the nakedneſs of this Verſion. But tho' miſtakes of this kind be ſo common, as to occur almoſt in every Page of this *Manuſcript*, yet they are not very agreeable to the Style of the Ages before St. *Jerome*. We have enough left us of the Ancient Vulgar, to enable us to judge of its Style, by all the Remainders of it we have, tho' it has not Elegancy, which it did not affect, yet it appears to have been writ with tolerable Purity; whereas the Verſion we are now ſpeaking of, is uncouth and rude, and almoſt barbarous.

What then ſhall we think of it? Whatever the Verſion is, or whenceſoever it is taken, the *MS.* it ſelf ſeems to be *Gothic*; and probably both are of the ſame Extraction, and were done after St. *Jerome*'s Time, when the *Goths* had over-run the Empire; and Father *Mabillon* (*g*) the greateſt Judge of *MSS* of this Age, ſets the ſecond part of this

(*g*) *De Re. Diplom. p.* 347.

MS.

MS no higher. We have already ſeen the Verſion is rude, and ſuitable enough to theſe Times, and Dr. *Marſhal* (*f*) upon the *Gothic* Goſpels has obſerv'd ſuch an agreement betwixt theſe Goſpels and the *Cambridg MS*, that he thinks them to be taken from the *Greek* of that Copy; and this agreement he has ſhown in ſeveral particular Texts. The Characters in that *MS* are many of them *Gothic*, and Father *Simon* who thinks he has met with *Greek* Letters in the *Latin* Copy of the Second Part of this *MS*, and Grounds an Argument upon it, is undoubtedly miſtaken, for they are only *Gothic* Characters, ſeveral of which have a great affinity with the *Greek*: The Abbreviations are often the ſame in the *Cambridge MS* and *Gothic* Goſpels, and the Numbers expreſs'd by Numeral Letters ϊ and ϋ are ſometimes pointed, and ει, for ι, put down after the *Gothic* way; and *Euſebius*'s Canons are plac'd in the Margin, in a rude manner, without Marks of Diſtinction to make them uſeful, with other *Gothiſms*, that might be obſerv'd, did I deſign this, for any more than a Hint or Specimen. One thing is too obſervable to be paſſed over, that whereas our Saviour's Genealogy in

(*f*) *Ad Evang. Goth. p.* 403. 484, &c.

St.

St. *Luke* is plac'd in Columns in the *Gothic* Goſpels, it is put down in the very ſame manner in the *Cambridg MS*, which is the more remarkable, becauſe the reſt of that *MS* is writ in long Lines, and the Words run into one another. From all which, one would be apt to infer, That this Copy was taken under the *Goths*, that it is compounded of the Ancient and Modern Vulgar, which were both of them in uſe in the *Gothic* Churches, and particularly in *Spain* two or three Centuries after St. *Jerome*'s Time; tho' in many things it differs from them both; as it needs muſt, whilſt it keeps ſo cloſe to a *Greek* Copy much differing from any Copy, either Printed or Manuſcript that we now have. So that in ſome places, it looks like a Paraphraſe, and varies as much, as the *Chaldee* Paraphraſe upon the *Pentateuch* does from the *Hebrew* Text. The reaſon of this difference in the *Greek*, ſeems to proceed from hence, That it has been taken from a Copy fitted for Eccleſiaſtical uſe, ſome of the Alterations being ſuch, as are proper for that purpoſe, and ſuch as may be obſerv'd in our Epiſtles and Goſpels in the Liturgy, by adding a Proper

Proper Name, or altering a Particle to denote the Perſon that ſpeaks, or to compleat the Senſe: For that it has been taken from ſuch a Copy, appears from the Ἀναγνώσματα, or Leſſons markt in the Margin Rubrick-wiſe; and from the Word τελ☉, ſometimes put at the end of a Leſſon, to denote the Concluſion of a Reading. That theſe are the Marks of ſuch Copies has been obſerv'd by Father *Simon* (*g*), and he needed only have apply'd them to this Manuſcript, to have ſhewn it to have been taken from a Copy of this Nature: But this would have ſpoyl'd his Notion of the *Latin* Tranſlations having been the Ancient Vulgar. I am ſo far ſatisfy'd, of its having been taken from ſuch a Copy, that I once thought it, to have been fitted for the Churches of the *Greek* Empire, when both *Greek* and *Latin* were ſpoke there, as they were from *Conſtantine*, till after *Juſtinian*; in like manner, as they yet have the Bible in two Tongues in ſuch places, where the People are of two Languages: But I think I have reaſon to alter my Opinion.

(*g*) *Hiſt. N. T. Ch.* 33.

What

What Father *Simon* further conjectures, concerning the *French* MSS of St. *Paul*'s Epistles being the Second Part of the *Cambridge* Copy, is undoubtedly true of one of them; For besides that in a Catalogue of the Books of the New Testament, at the end of one of these *MSS* (*h*), the Gospels are placed in the same order, wherein they stand in the *Cambridge* Copy, St. *John* immediately after St. *Matthew*, and the agreableness in the Character betwixt the *Cambridge* and *Benedictine* Copy, according to the Specimen of it, we have in *Mabillon* (*i*). There is a Fragment of St. *John*'s last Epistle, betwixt St. *Mark*'s Gospel, and the Acts of the Apostles, which shows, the Catholic Epistles have been there, and that the Book was once intire, bating only the *Revelations*, that were not for some Ages, so universally receiv'd in the Church.

(*h*) *Morin. l.* 1. *Exerc.* 2. *c.* 3.

(*i*) *P.* 347.

If I have brought the Age of this *MS* too low, or lessen'd its Authority too much, I shall be ready to alter my Opinion upon better Reasons, for I am not much concern'd for the Reputation of a Critic. I hope I shall always have a due Con-

Concern for Religion and the Church, and that my Opinion ſhould be true, I think, is the Intereſt of both: For this Copy differing ſo much from all others, the leſs Authority we give it, it will be able to do the leſs hurt. I am ſure they have ſet it too high, who fetch it from *Irenæus*, or St. *Hillary*, both which Fathers were Born before the *Goths* had Letters; for that the Characters are *Gothic*, I think I may be pretty poſitive. For this Reaſon I ſhall never deſire to ſee it printed, tho' a worthy Perſon ſeems to have that Deſign, and a Scheme has been mark'd out to that purpoſe: But I hope that Learned Body, in whoſe Cuſtody it is, will have more Regard to the Will of the Donor, whoſe firſt Intention, it certainly was, that it ſhould not (*k*) be publiſh'd.

(*k*) *V. Bez. Epiſt. ad Acad. Can.*

Its various Readings have been given us already in the *Polyglot Bibles*, tho' not over accurately, and ſufficient care taken, that it ſhall not, *In uno exemplo periclitari*; And what would the Critics have more? Even Father *Simon* has procur'd a Copy from *England*, tho' I much ſuſpect, it

is no other than those various Readings: The Father tells us, *Morinus* had it from *Jurius* the Library-keeper of *Cambridge*, by such a mistake (*l*) as another Critic has given us a *Magdeburgh* College at *Oxford*. But of this perhaps too much.

(*l*) *Hist. N. I. Ch.* 30.

I will only offer one Criticism, in order to wipe off a Blot from the *English*, that has been unjustly cast upon the Nation, either by the Author or Interpreter. I have already said in another Chapter, that *Chalcocondylas* does report of the *English*, that upon a Visit made to a Friend, it is permitted the Stranger by way of Complement to Lie with his Neighbor's Wife: This the Learned Interpreter of *Chalcocondylas* does plainly say, and it stands so in the last Royal Edition of that Author; but the Word in *Greek*, is κύσαντα, † which one would suspect was rather meant of *Kissing*; no doubt some Wandring *Greek* had been in *England*, and having observ'd our way of Kissing our Neighbor's Wives, which might as well be let alone, had reported it to *Chalcocondylas* in a Word of nearest affinity in the *Greek*, and thereby

thereby given occaſion to this Miſtake. This Account ſeems ſo probable, that (with Submiſſion to the Critics) I durſt almoſt venture from thence, to add one other Word to our Gloſſaries.

† Κύων, being a proper word for kiſſing, there can be no great doubt of the Correction I made, nor needs the word be thrown into a Gloſſary any otherwiſe, then as it ſeems to be there rendred from the Engliſh.

CHAP. XVII.

Of Oriental Learning, Jewish *and* Arabian.

IT has been an old Queſtion, and much debated amongſt Learned Men, whether greater Profit or Inconvenience ariſeth from reading the Jewiſh Books? On the one hand it is alledg'd, that the Hebrew Tongue, and Jewiſh Rites and Cuſtoms, can be no way ſo well learnt, as from themſelves; and that as in order to underſtand the Greek and Roman Polity, it is neceſſary to read Greek and Latin Authors: So if we would be acquainted with the Jewiſh affairs, we cannot learn them better, than from their own Books. On the other ſide, they have been charg'd with groſs Ignorance, even in their own affairs; and their Books ſaid to be ſo ſtuff'd

ſtuff'd with Trifles, or, what is worſe, with poyſonous Opinions, that the profit in reading them will not countervail the danger. Accordingly they have met with a very different Fate; At one time they have been order'd to be read and ſtudied, as by *Clement* the 5*th*, (*m*) in the Council of *Vienna*: And again, the *Talmudic* Books have been adjudg'd to be burnt, as 12000 Volumes were by public Order, (*n*) only out of one Library at *Cremona*; And had not the Famous *Reuchlin* advocated for them under the Emperor *Maximilian*, they had been in danger of an Univerſal Ruine.

(*m*) *Clemmin. l.5. Tit.1.*

(*n*) *V. Sixt. Senens. l.2. p. 120.*

In ſuch variety there may be need of diſtinction; And therefore the Jewiſh Writers may be conſider'd two ways, either as Witneſſes, or Interpreters: In the firſt ſenſe, they have been Faithful Depoſitaries, and very uſeful in handing down the Sacred Volumes, and in preſerving the Text intire: In the other ſenſe, their Skill or Authority, as Interpreters, has not been thought very conſiderable.

The great Reaſon whereupon their Books have been valued, has been their ſeeming Antiquity: In the laſt Age, we have been told of Books as Old as *Abraham* and *Ezra*, that have had the fortune to be believ'd by Wiſemen; (*o*) and could their Riſe be traced up and deriv'd from ſuch an Original, they would have reaſon to be valued: But this Vizor has been taken off, and their Novelty or Impoſture has been detected: *Morinus* has brought down moſt of them ſeveral Centuries from their boaſted Height. Their *Talmud* that has been commented upon by the Modern Rabbins, has been ſhown to be little older than the Age of *Juſtinian*, the firſt Authentic mention we have of the *Miſna*, or Text of that Book (for the *Gemara*, or Comment muſt have been yet later) being in one of his Novels (*p*), and probably, the Contention among the *Jews* about receiving it, had given occaſion to that Law. *Origen* and St. *Jerome* knew nothing of that Book; who notwithſtanding were inquiſitive Men, and knowing in the Hebrew, and having had opportunities of conſulting their Hebrew Maſters, and occaſions of citing

(*o*) *V. Morin. l. 2. Exerc. 6. cap. 1. Exerc. 9. cap. 8, &c.*

(*p*) *Novel.* 146.

ting them, and having done it in things of leſs moment, could not have avoided mentioning this, had it been then in being, and ſo noted, as to be a ſtanding Law Eccleſiaſtical and Civil among the *Jews* (*q*). Their two Books *Bahir* and *Zohar*, ſo venerable among them for their mighty Age, have been brought down yet lower; tho' whatever Age they be of, they can be of no uſe to any, being only a heap of Cabaliſtical Nicetics (*r*), which tho' much valu'd by ſuch Men, as admire every thing that is abſtruſe and hidden, are ſufficiently known to be nothing better than Jargoon and Cant. The truth of it is, few of their ancient Books have been thought much better, being either ſo myſtical, as hardly to be underſtood, or ſo full of Groſs Legend, as to force them to take ſhelter under Allegories to reconcile them to ſenſe. There is little Light to be borrow'd from them, for almoſt 1000 Years after the laſt Deſtruction of their Temple; and tho' about that time, ſome of the Modern Rabbins began to introduce Learning, yet this was no part of their Rabbiniſm, but a departing there-from; moſt of the Learning they had was borrow'd from the *Arabians*; and *Maimonides*,

(*q*) *Morin. ibid. Exerc.* 6.

(*r*) *Buxtorf. bibl. Rab.*

nides, Qui primus inter ſuos deſiit nugari, by mixing Philoſophy and Reaſon with his Comments, in order to make their Books ſpeak ſenſe, thereby gave ſuch offence, that he was continually perſecuted for it by his Brethren, (s) and hardly eſcaped being branded for a Heretick. They that have taken the ſame way, ought upon their Principles to fall under the like Cenſure; and it ought always to be remembred, that the modern Rabbins have done beſt, whoſe Authority by their Age is inconſiderable, and their Skill not ſo extraordinary, as to need be imitated by Chriſtians, who now underſtand their Language as well, and their Critical and Philological Learning much better than they do themſelves. Even *Maimonides* (t) confeſſeth of his times, that the *Jews* were not then skilful in their own Language.

(s) *Buxtorf. Præf. in Mor. Nevoch.*

(t) *Mor. Nevoch. Par.* 1. *cap.* 67.

I am not ignorant with what deſign ſome Men have decry'd the Rabbins; whatever their deſign may have been, they may have ſpoke truth, and at the ſame time miſtake their aim: We have the leſs reaſon to be jealous of them, ſince they are not the only Men that have

have gone this way: For to pass by *Luther*, who has treated the Rabbins very ruggedly (*u*). Let us hear what a great Professor, *Reuchlin*'s Scholar and Successor says of them, one who had spent all his Life, and part of his Estate in these Studies; (*x*) In his Preface to his Dictionary (one of the first considerable ones of this kind) he gives this account, "In them is no light, no know-"ledge of God, no Spirit, no true and "solid Art, no Understanding even of "the Hebrew Tongue— they have done "nothing worth notice towards under-"standing the Sacred Text; Their "Dictionaries and Comments have "brought more obscurity than Light "or Truth—— And then goes on to challenge them in matter of Fact, and to point out a better way than that which they have follow'd, and such as himself has pursu'd.

(*u*) *In Gen. cap.* 16, *&c.*

(*x*) *Joh. Forsterus.*

He may have gone too far in depressing the Rabbins, if he have been too warm in decrying them, doubtless others have gone too great a length the other way, who have studied the *Talmud* so long, as to draw Contagion from thence, and almost become Rabbins themselves: A Country-

Countryman of our own has exceeded in this, who tho' he has only commented upon one Book, has had such Faith in the *Talmud*, as to believe, "That "many of its Traditions were divinely "deliver'd to *Moses* in Mount *Sinai*, "which it was not lawful for *Moses* to "divulge in writing; but being transmitted down orally to his Posterity, "they are related to us in the *Talmudic* Books. (*y*) And least this should not be enough, he is of opinion, "There "are many Allegorical and Pious Sayings contain'd there, that were utter'd "by the ancient Rabbins, when heated "with the Divinity, and mov'd by "God. Could any *Jew* have said more? Or could it be imagin'd, a Christian would have said so much? If these be the Fruits of Rabbinical Enquiries, surely they were better let alone. That a Man that is conversant in these sort of Studies should undervalue all other sorts of Learning, is no new thing; it is what has been observ'd, and for which a reason may be given: For these Enquiries being out of the way, and not every man's possession, vulgar Studies must be despis'd by Men of uncommon Attainments, and these only valu'd that are difficult

(*y*) *V. Præf. ad Cod. Ioma. Multa Allegorica, & pia dicta, quæ Antiqui Rabbini à Deo exagitati ejusq; numine abrepti protulerunt, in scriptis Talmudicis continentur. Ibid.*

difficult and uncommon. Or that others ſhould imagine they find Eloquence in the Rabbins, and ſhould compare *Abravanel* to *Cicero*, and *Aben-Ezra* to *Saluſt* (*z*), is not very ſtrange; for Men are apt to find Beauty in Blemiſhes, where they have plac'd their Affections: But that Men ſhould proceed to Idolize them, no other Reaſon can be aſſign'd, but that which is given for all Idols, and that is, that they are all of them *vain*.

(*z*) *Sim. Crit. Hiſt. l.* 3. *c.* 7.

Becauſe the Rabbins have been ſaid to have borrow'd moſt of their humane Learning from the *Arabians*, I will likewiſe ſpeak one word of them. As the *Jews* have borrow'd from the *Arabians*, ſo have the *Arabians* from the *Greeks*; For they were ſo far from having any Learning of their own, that the true *Arabs*, the Deſcendants of *Iſmael*, had no Letters; and their Language muſt have been loſt, had it not been preſerv'd in their Poems, that were compos'd by their Ancient *Bards* (*a*), and by their facility being eaſily learnt, were deliver'd down from hand to hand. Other Learning they had very little, except Poetry, till having over-run the Eaſtern

(*a*) *Pocock ad Spec. Arab.*

Eaſtern Parts of the *Greek* Empire, they were taught it by the Vanquiſh'd People, who tranſlated the *Greek* Authors for them into their own Language; and the *Arabians* being Men of quick Wits, refin'd ſo much upon their Authors, that *Ariſtotle* became more ſubtle in the *Arabic*, than he was before in his own Tongue; and ſo much was he admir'd in that Dreſs, that he was turn'd from thence into Latin, with *Averroes* upon him; and for ſome time, one was not thought to underſtand *Ariſtotle* aright, unleſs he had read him with *Averroes*'s Comment. But this humor held no longer than *Averroes* came to be underſtood, (underſtood I ſhould not have ſaid, for perhaps no Man ever underſtood him, but till he came to be better lookt into,) for then his over-great Nicety was not only diſcover'd; but beſides other Errors, he was charged with the Whimſies and Viſions of the *Alcoran* (*b*): And *Averroes* is now as much out of faſhion for his Philoſophy, as *Avicen* is for his Phyſic, tho' they were once the Wonder of their Age and Nation.

(*b*) *Lud. Viv. de Caus. Corrupt. Art. Lib.* 5.

Phyſic and Philoſophy were the Studies wherein the *Arabians* excell'd moſt, and

and therefore the Books of that kind were first translated and publish'd among us: But since those Books have ceased to be admir'd, an attempt has been made another way, and we have been furnish'd with a Sett of *Arabic* Historians, by *Erpenius*, *Golius*, and Dr. *Pocock*. Their Books may be seen, and containing Matter of Fact; every Man is able to judge of their performance: What sort of Historian *Abulpharajius* is, may be inferr'd from his Learned Editor, who was under discouragements in publishing him, from his disagreement with *Greek* and *Roman* History. I am sure *Eutychius* is no better, (whom Mr. *Selden* is pleas'd to style Our *Ægyptian Bede*;) His History of the Council of *Nice* is such a Romance, as exceeds all Faith, but that of a *Rabbin* or *Arabian* (c). According to him above 2000 Bishops meet at *Nice*, after they had been above two years in assembling there; The Patriarch of *Alexandria* is appointed President, and no more notice taken of *Hosius*, than if he had not been present: *Constantine* is describ'd as transferring his Power upon the Bishops by the delivery of his Ring, Sword, and Scepter; with

(c) *Eutych.* p. 440, &c.

with other things equally abſurd: And that the Canons might bear better proportion to the number of Biſhops; In the *Arabic* Copies we have above a hundred, (*d*) whereas all the World knows there are only twenty genuine Canons of that Council.

(*d*) *V. Abr. Ecchel. Eutych. Vind. Par.* 2. *c.* 17.

We have been told oftner than once of *Livy* compleat in *Arabic*, yet dormant among their Manuſcripts: But if their Tranſlations be no better than their Hiſtories, (and if we will take *Huetius*'s (*e*) account of them, they are rather worſe,) we have no reaſon to deſire it over-eagerly, tho' it could be produc'd, which I almoſt deſpair it ever ſhall. Nor have we reaſon to be more fond of their Geography, if we may make an Eſtimate from that taſte thereof, which has been given us, by *Gabriel Sionita*, in the *Nubian Geographer*, who has reliſht ſo little with the World, as not to raiſe any thirſt or appetite of having more. With what exactneſs he has deſcrib'd the three parts of the World, particularly *Europe* might be eaſily ſhown, were it worth the while to trace him in his Failings: He is to be ſeen, and every one that has a Globe

(*e*) *De Clar. Interpr. p.* 121.

Globe and Maps, can judge of his Work.

In one word, the great Uſe of the *Arabian* and *Rabbinical* Writers ſeems to be, in confuting the *Alcoran* and *Talmud*; and to that end, there is no doubt, they may be effectually uſeful.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of Scholaſtic Learning.

DIvinity as it is profeſs'd in the Schools is become an Art, and ſo profound a piece of Learning, that it requires great Parts and much pains to maſter it; an argument ſure, that it is not ſo very neceſſary, otherwiſe it would need leſs skill to be underſtood. I would not detract from, much leſs deny all uſe of this ſort of Learning, tho if I ſhould be free in my Cenſures, I ſhould have good authority to warrant me therein; moſt of the firſt Reformers having led the way, and ſome of them having declaim'd againſt it pretty warmly. Its great abuſe in the Church of *Rome* had given too juſt occaſion to this; for that Church having adopted it into her Syſtems, and interwoven it with moſt of her opinions, and the School-Men

men having been the Great Champions of her Cauſe, the Reformers were never ſafe, till they had diſarm'd her of this hold, which they did by expoſing this new method, and introducing in its ſtead a much ſurer one, built upon the clear Text of Scripture, and deductions from thence, which they made uſe of in all their Conferences and Diſputations. This tho the true and ancient way, and moſt agreeable to the ſimplicity of the Goſpel, yet had been much neglected by the Schoolmen, who having broached new Opinions, were to ſupport them by new methods, and the Scriptures having been ſilent, or not ſpeaking home to their purpoſe, they therefore us'd them very ſparingly: The Authority of the Fathers was call'd in, and where theſe were deficient *Ariſtotle*'s Philoſophy was to ſupply the defect, without whom if the obſervation in my Author (*f*) be true, a neighbouring Church had wanted ſome Articles of Faith) the Fathers and Philoſophical reaſons were their great ſtrength. Tho after all it muſt be confeſt, that where the opinions of their Church have not

(*f*) *In che haveva gran parte Ariſtotle, coll haver diſtinto Eſſattamente tutti i generi*

cauſe; a che ſe egli non foſſe adoperato, noi mancavano di molti ricoli di fede. Hiſt. del Conc. Trident. l. 2.

been concern'd, and where they have argu'd barely upon the Principles of Reaſon, they have often done exceeding well; only launching out beyond their line they have as frequently miſcarry'd.

The Faults in this ſort of Learning are chiefly theſe, (1.) Defectiveneſs for want of proper helps. (2) Incoherence. (3) Nicety. (4) Obſcurity. (5). Barbarity. (1) The Languages are one proper help, for *Ariſtotle*'s Philoſophy, and many of the Fathers being writ in Greek, it was neceſſary in order to be Maſter of theſe, that the Language wherein they were writ ſhould be underſtood: This help the Schoolmen wanted, having had no Greek, and only a very moderate ſhare of Latin; *Ariſtotle* was known to them in a Tongue that was none of his own, and being obſcure enough in himſelf, was much more ſo, in wretched Tranſlations; and the Fathers who were very Intelligible in Greek, were either obſcur'd, by being turn'd into another Idiom, or were made to ſpeak ſomewhat they never meant. Both Greek and Latin Fathers have been treated equally ill, for want of another proper help, *viz. Criticiſm*,

III

in distinguishing Genuin from Spurious Authors; for want of which, Authorities have been crudely swallow'd down without distinction; false Authorities have been obtruded, and true ones rejected, or often mutilated; the Ages of Authors have been confounded, and some late Impostor has assum'd the name of a venerable Father. Instances whereof (for I do not love to dwell upon sores) may be had in *Launoy* in several of his Epistles, and in *Daneus*'s Censure upon the first Book of Sentences.

(2). By incoherence I do not mean any inconsequence in the way of arguing in the Divinity of the Scholes, But a disagreement of the parts, that it principally consists of; which being chiefly two (as we have before observed) the Sentences of the Fathers and *Aristotle*'s Philosophy, what tolerable agreement can there be, betwixt two things so very different? Most of the Fathers were *Platonists* in their opinion, possibly for the sake of some agreement, which that Philosophy seem'd to have with the Christian Religion: *Justin Martyr*, *Origen*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and to name no more, St. *Augustin* who

was more follow'd in the Schools, than all the rest, was of that number: *Aristotle* was either much neglected by the Fathers, or where they had occasion to speak of him, they usually condemn him; and that either for his Sophistic way of reasoning, or for his unsuitable Notions of God and Providence, which are of first consideration in the Schools. Even in the Church of *Rome* *Aristotle* was often forbid, sometimes ordered to be burnt, and what is most strange, at that time when his Books were commented upon by *Aquinas*, they stood prohibited by a Decree of *Gregory* the IX. (*g*) Of late almost in our time, a proposal was made at *Rome* to *Gregory* the XIV. that *Aristotle*'s Philosophy might be banished the Schools, and *Plato* substituted in his place, as being more agreeable to the Christian Religion, and Sense of the Fathers; and above forty Propositions were then produc'd, wherein *Plato*'s Consonancy was shown, in all which *Aristotle* was pretended (*h*) to be Dissonant from the true Religion: Whether upon just grounds or no, I will not venture to determine; for since Platonism has obtained, as it once did pretty early, and has

(*g*) W. Launoy de var. Aristot. Fortuna cap. 7. &c.

(*h*) Ibid. cap. 14.

has again done of late, it has been found lyable to as dangerous conſequences, as any that have been yet charg'd upon the other Philoſophy. I only bring thus much to ſhow, that there can be no good agreement in this particular, where the Parts are of ſo different a nature, as the Fathers and *Ariſtotle*, and ſo jarring, that they cannot naturally cohere.

(3). Nicety is the great fault of the Schools, her Doctors have been ſtyl'd *Profound*, *Subtle*, *Irrefragable*; Titles which they have moſt valu'd themſelves upon, and ſeem not much to have affected the reputation of being Familiar and Eaſie, at leaſt none of their Titles have been derived from thence. They delight in refining upon one another, and ſometimes ſpin ſo fine a thread, that it is either broke or much weakned in drawing it out: They have perplex'd Knowledge, by ſtarting inſuperable difficulties, and ſeem in this to have run into the ſame fault with your too Profound Politicians, who, as they have often foreſeen deſigns, which are neither practicable, nor ever intended; ſo theſe often have propos'd Objections, that would never have been thought of, had not they

firſt ſtarted them; the conſequence whereof has been, that we have furniſhed our Enemies with Objections, who have made uſe of our Weapons, and have turn'd our own Artillery againſt us. This is too viſible in our Modern *Socinians*, who have often gather'd out of this Storehouſe, and by picking up difficulties in the Schoolmen, have turn'd their Objections into Proof and Arguments, and have thereby gain'd the Reputation of ſubtle Men. Thus Controverſies have been multiplied, and thoſe we have already, have ſwoln to an unmeaſurable height, and every difference has become irreconcileable; whilſt Men ſtudy Nicety more than Peace, and ſtretch their Wits, and rack their Inventions, to out reach their Opponents. And it were well if the miſchief had ſtop'd here, and Men's Curioſity had not led them on, from nice Queſtions to ſuch as are Impious: It has done this, and leaſt I ſhould be thought to do them wrong, I ſhall refer the Reader to an unexceptionable Author (*t*) one of the Greateſt Champions, the Church of *Rome* ever had, for a Catalogue of them; which are ſo offenſive to Chriſtian Ears, that I forbear

(*t*) *Card. Perron. de l' Euchar. l. 3. ch. 20.*

forbear to put them down in English, though he has not ſcrupled to give them in a more common Language.

(4). *Obſcurity*, where things are intricate in themſelves, if they be not ſo clearly explain d in treating of them, as might be deſir'd, the nature of the things will excuſe, as not being capable of perſpicuity; or if hard Terms are made uſe of, if very ſignificative, and not too many, this is what is allowable in all Arts: But then, if Terms of Art have been multiply'd beyond neceſſity, and without ſignificancy; or if things that are plain in themſelves have been obſcure'd, by being handled too Artificially, this ſure is a great Abuſe; and this is, what has been charg'd upon many of the Schoolmen. The myſteries of Religion are not capable of being rendred obvious to Reaſon, and therefore if they have not made theſe plain, they are not to be blam'd; they would have been more excuſable, had they explain'd them leſs, and had not truſted too much to rational helps, in explaining things, that are not the Objects of our Underſtanding; but tho Myſteries are not to be explain'd, other things

in Religion are clear enough, and would continue ſo, were they not clouded and involv'd by too much Art. I do not charge this as a general fault, tho it be too common; ſome of the Schoolmen are leſs obnoxious to this charge, and generally the Firſt, are leaſt Obſcure; and *Lombard* and *Aquinas*, the two Authors of the *Sentences* and *Sums* have been more plain, than many of thoſe that have writ upon them, whoſe Comments have often helpt to obſcure the Text. It is an odd Commendation that is given by *Cardan* (*k*) to one of our Countrymen, one of the moſt ſubtle among the Doctors, that only one of his Arguments was enough to puzzel all Poſterity, and that when he grew old he wept, becauſe he could not underſtand his own Books. Men that write *De Subtilitate*, muſt be allow'd to ſay what they pleaſe, but thoſe of ordinary Capacities would have thought it a greater Character, that our Doctor had well explain'd that one Argument, and had writ ſo, that he might have been underſtood. There are great Charms in being eſteemed ſubtle, and it is an argument hereof, that *Cardan* commends this Author for his ſubtility, whom in all

(*k*) *De Subtil. l.* 16.

all probability, he had never ſeen, otherwiſe he could not ſo foully have miſtaken his name, as he does (*l*) and as ſome others have done, that have ſpoke of this Author, who is very rare. He is indeed profoundly obſcure, tho I muſt confeſs, I have only lookt into him ſo far, as to obſerve his way of writing, which is really ſuch, as if he never meant to be underſtood. Others have been faulty enough in this way, and it were no hard task to ſhow it in many of the reſt, but having mention'd this Man, I can ſay nothing worſe againſt obſcurity.

(*l*) *Richard. al. Raymund Suiſeth. venet. 1520. ap. Cardan. Johan Suiſſet.*

(5). Rough language and Barbarouſneſs of expreſſion, that were made ſo great Objections, upon the reviving of Learning, and are yet ſo with Polite Men, whoſe ears can bear nothing without ornament and ſmoothneſs, ſhall be no great faults with me, and in abſtruſe Subjects may be born with; and I ſhould digeſt *Caramuel*'s new Scholaſtic Dialect, provided it conduced to promote knowledge: However, a bad Dreſs and ill Meen are Blemiſhes upon knowledge, tho they detract nothing from its ſtrength, and ought to be ſome mortification

tification to those Men who are apt to over value themselves upon imaginary Perfection. Of all Men they are farthest from it, and after so many Imperfections as have been charg'd upon them, it was surprizing to me, to meet with one of the last Commentators upon the *Sum* (*m*) writing as if he had liv'd before *Luther*. In a Prefatory Discourse entitl'd, *Commendatio Doctrinæ D. Thomæ*, he endeavours to prove in so many several Chapters, that St. *Thomas* had writ his Books, not without special infusion of God Almighty Cap. 1. That in writing them, he receiv'd many things by Revelation Chap. 2. That all he writ was without any Error, Cap. 4. That Christ had given Testimony to his Writings, Cap. 6. And to show of how near the same Authority, St. *Thomas*'s *Sum* is to the Holy Scriptures, he assures us, That as in the first General Councils, it was usual to have the Holy Bible laid open upon the Altar, as the Rule of their proceedings; so in the last General Council (which with them is the Council of *Trent*), St. *Thomas*'s *Sum* was plac'd with the Bible upon the same Altar, as another Inferior Rule of Christian Doctrine Chap. 8. which is very agree-

(*m*) *Bapt. Gonet. Clyp. Theolog. Par.* 1669.

agreeable to what has been writ by a Jesuit (*n*) upon the same Subject, That all the General Councils, that have been held since St. *Thomas* liv'd, have taken the opinions they defin'd from his Doctrin. It were needless after this to cite the Elogy of another Jesuit, (*o*) where St. *Thomas* is styl'd an Angel, and that as he learnt many things from the Angels, so he taught Angels somethings; That St. *Thomas* had said what St. *Paul* was not suffer'd to utter; That he speaks of God as if he had seen him, and of Christ, as if he had been his voice, and more to this effect.

(*n*) *Tauner. Quest.* 1. *Dub.* 2.

(*o*) *Petr. Labbe ap. Gonet. ibid.*

When such bold expressions are openly vented, it is time to look about us, and it concerns every Man to endeavour to give a check to such daring assertions. I am far from detracting either from the knowledge or Holiness of St. *Thomas*, which doubtless were both extraordinary, But when a Mortal Man, is equal'd to the Angels in Heaven, and such Elogies given him, as if he were capable of hearing, he must blush to receive; it is justice to him, to rescue him from false and undue Praises. To do him Right, he has improv'd natural Reason

Reaſon to an uncommon height, and many of thoſe proofs of a God and Providence and Natural Religion, that have been advanced of late, as new Arguments with ſo much applauſe, have been borrowed from him or other Schoolmen; and are only not his, by being put in a new Dreſs, and ſometimes in a worſe method. Had it been his fortune to have lived in a happier Age, under better opportunities, and with thoſe helps that we now enjoy, he muſt have made a greater *Genius*, than many of thoſe, who are now lookt upon with wonder.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIX.

Concluſion.

AND now having gone through the ſeveral ſorts of Learning, and obſerv'd the various defects, and oft-times uncertainties, which they are ſubject to; The Concluſion is obvious, that ſince no compleat ſatisfaction is to be met with from them, we are to ſeek for it ſomewhere elſe, if happily it may be found. It may be found, but not in our own powers, or by our own ſtrength; and that which our moſt exalted Reaſon, under all its improvements, cannot yield us, is only to be had from Revelation. It is there we may ſecurely reſt, after the Mind has try'd all other ways and methods of Knowledge, and has tir'd it ſelf with fruitleſs Enquiries. It is with the Mind, as with the Will and Appetites: for as after

after we have try'd a thouſand Plea-ſures, and turn'd from one Enjoyment to another, we find no Reſt to our Deſires, till we at laſt fix them upon the Soverain Good: So in purſuit of Knowledge, we meet with no tolerable ſatisfaction to our Minds, till after we are wearied with tracing other Methods, we turn them at laſt upon the One ſupreme and unerring Truth. And were there no other uſe of humane Learning, there is at leaſt this in it, That by its many defects, it brings the Mind to a ſenſe of its own weakneſs, and makes it more readily, and with greater willingneſs, ſubmit to Revelation. God may have ſo order'd in his wiſe Providence, thereby to keep us in a conſtant dependance upon himſelf, and under a neceſſity of conſulting him in his Word; which ſince Profane Men treat ſo negligently already, they would have it in greater Contempt; and it would be much more vile in their Eyes, did they find any thing within them equally perfect, which might guide them in their Courſe, and bring them to the Haven, where they would be. But this ſince they do not meet with, it ought to wean them from an opinion of themſelves,

ſelves, and incline them to ſeek out ſatisfaction ſomewhere elſe, and to take ſhelter where it may be found.

I have ſaid nothing in this whole Diſcourſe (nor can I repeat it too often) with deſign to diſcredit humane Learning; I am neither of their mind (*p*) who were for burning all Books, except their Bibles; nor of that Learned Man's opinion, who thought the Principles of all Arts and Sciences might be borrow'd from that Store-houſe: I would willingly put a juſt Value upon the one, without depreſſing the other; But where Men laſh out the other way, and take the liberty to exalt Learning to the prejudice of Religion, and to oppoſe ſhallow Reaſon to Revelation, it is then time, and every Man's buſineſs, to endeavour to keep it under, at leaſt to prevent its aſpiring, by not ſuffering it to paſs its due Bounds. Our Reaſon is a proper Guide in our Enquiries, and is to be follow'd, where it keeps within its Sphere; but ſhining dimly, it muſt borrow Rays from the Fountain of Light, and muſt always act ſubordinately to Revelation. Whenever it croſſeth that, it is out of its Sphere, and indeed

(*p*) Anabaptiſts in *Germany*.

deed contradicts its own Light; for nothing is more reasonable, than to believe a Revelation, as being grounded upon God's Veracity, without which even Reason it self will be often doubting. That whatever God (who is Truth it self) reveals, is true; is as sure and evident a Proposition, as any we can think of; It is certain in its Ground, and evident in its Connexion, and needs no long Consequences to make it out; whereas most of our rational deductions are often both weakly bottom'd, and depending upon a long train of Consequences, which are to be spun from one another, their strength is often lost, and the thread broken, before we come at the Conclusion.

And tho' it be commonly objected, that there are as many differences concerning Divine Truths, as about those of Nature; yet I think there needs nothing further be said to this, but that Men would approach Divine Truths with the same dispositions, that are requir'd by Philosophers to the reading of their Writings, and the Objection would soon fall to the ground: The best Philosophers require, that in reading

ing their Books, we ſhould lay aſide partiality to a Party, all paſſion and other prejudice; and let Men only approach the Scriptures with the ſame preparations of Mind, and with theſe and ordinary Grace (that is never wanting to thoſe that ſeek it) I dare be confident, they will have no reaſon to complain of Obſcurity or Ambiguity in thoſe Sacred Writings: With theſe Helps (that are had by asking) the weakeſt and moſt ordinary Capacity ſhall ſee enough, and ſhall not ſtand in need of deep Reach or Penetration, which are neceſſary to the underſtanding of Natural Truths. God, who would have all Men happy, has likewiſe made them all ſo far wiſe, and has ſo order'd, that the moſt important Truths, ſhould be the moſt eaſy and common; and if it can be no objection, that to the underſtanding of them, we muſt make uſe of ordinary means, and muſt come prepar'd with ſuitable diſpoſitions. This is what is neceſſary in all other things; for every thing is beſt underſtood by the ſame Spirit by which it is writ.

God has gone yet farther with us; Neceſſary Truths are not only the moſt common, but he has likewiſe made them the moſt convincing, and has given them a power, that is not eaſily reſiſted: Rational Arguments, however, convincing they may ſeem, are uſually repell'd by Reaſon, and it is hard to convince a Man by ſuch methods, that is equally Maſter of Reaſon with our ſelves; whereas Divine Truths make their own way, they act upon us with a ſecret Power, and preſs the Mind with an almoſt irreſiſtible Strength, and do not only perſwade, but almoſt force an aſſent: The firſt only act like Light, the other ſtrike down and pierce us through like Lightning. We have as remarkable a paſſage to this purpoſe (*q*), as moſt in Eccleſiaſtical Story; which tho' well atteſted, yet were it only a Parable, the Moral of it might be of good uſe. Upon the Convening of the firſt General Council at *Nice*, and the appearing of the Chriſtian Biſhops there, ſeveral of the Heathen Philoſophers offer'd themſelves among the Sons of God, intending to ſignalize themſelves upon ſo

(*q*) *Sozom. Hiſt. l.* 1. *c.* 18. *Ruffin. Hiſt. l.* 1. *c.* 3.

ſo great an occaſion, by attacking the Faith in its moſt Eminent Profeſſors, and by endeavouring to overthrow it by Philoſophy and Reaſon. To this End ſeveral Conferences were held upon the Principles of Reaſon, by the moſt noted Men of either Party, in which one of the Philoſophers more forward than the Reſt, begun to grow Inſolent upon a ſuppos'd advantage, and muſt needs triumph before Victory: An aged Biſhop took fire at this, one who had been a Confeſſor in the late Perſecution, and was more noted for his Faith than Learning; Philoſophy he had none, but encounters his Adverſary in a new manner, in the name of *Jeſus*, and by the word of God, and with a few plain weapons drawn from thence, he humbles the Pride of this arrogant Philoſopher, and ſtrait way leads him Captive to the Font: All the Reply our Philoſopher had left him, was, that while he was encountred by Philoſophy and humane Learning, he defended himſelf the ſame way, but being attack'd by higher Reaſons, it was neceſſary for him to yeild himſelf up to the power of God. Such is the Force of that Word, which ſimple vain Men ſo much contemn!

What then must we do? Are we to give our selves up to this Word, and lay a side all humane Learning? I am far from thinking so, and have already cautioned against any such wild and Anabaptistical Conceit; these two may well consist, Learning is of good use in explaining this Word, and the Word serves very well to lessen our opinion of humane Learning; the former may be serviceable, whilst it acts ministerially and in subservience to the latter, but being only a Hand-maid to Religion, whenever it usurps upon that, it is to be kept down and taught its Duty; it is still only humane Learning, that is, very weak and very defective, and after all the great things that can be said of it, and the uses that may be assign'd it, it must after all be confess'd, that our *Bible* is our Best Book, and the only Book that can afford any true and solid satisfaction. It is that which satisfies and never satiates, which the deeper it is lookt into, pleaseth the more, as containing new and hid Treasures, by the opening whereof, there always springs up in the mind fresh pleasure and new

desire

deſire. Whereas humane Writings (like all humane things) cloy by their continuance, and we can ſcarce read them the ſecond time without irkſomeneſs, and oftentimes not without nauſeating thoſe fine things, that pleaſe ſo wonderfully at the firſt reading.

The Sum of all is this, we buſie our ſelves in the ſearch of Knowledge, we tire out our Thoughts, and waſt our Spirits in this perſuit, and afterwards flatter our ſelves with mighty acquirements, and fill the World with Volumes of our Diſcoveries: Whereas would we take as much pains in diſcovering our weakneſs and defects, as we ſpend time in Oſtentation of our knowledge, we might with half the time and pains, ſee enough to ſhow us our Ignorance, and might thereby learn truer wiſdom. We frame to our ſelves New Theories of the world, and pretend to meaſure the Heavens by our Mathematical Skill (that is, Indefinite Space by a Compaſs, or Span) whilſt we know little of the Earth we tread on, and every thing puzzles us, that we meet with there: We live upon the Earth, and moſt Men think they reſt

reſt upon it, and yet it is a very difficult Queſtion in Philoſophy, whether the Earth reſts or moves; and is it not very wonderful, that we ſhould be ſuch ſtrangers to the place of our Abode, as to know nothing, whether we reſt there, or travel a dayly Circuit of ſome thouſand Miles? We rack our Inventions to find out Natural Reaſons for a Deluge of Waters, by fetching down Comets from above, and racking the *Cortex* of the Earth, to furniſh out ſufficient ſtory for that purpoſe; and yet from the *Convexity* of the Waters, it is hard to account in the Courſe of Nature, why there ſhould not be a Deluge every day: And perhaps Providence is the ſureſt Bar, that has ſet Bounds to the Waters, which they ſhall not paſs. We are not only puzzled by things without us, but we are ſtrangers to our own Make and Frame, for tho we are convinc'd that we conſiſt of Soul and Body; yet no Man hitherto has ſufficiently deſcribed the Union of theſe two, or has been able to explain, how Thought ſhould move Matter? Or how Matter ſhould act upon Thought? Nay the moſt Minute things in Nature, if duly conſidered, carry

carry with them the greateſt wonder, and perplex us as much, as things of greater bulk and ſhow. And yet we, who know ſo little in the ſmalleſt matters, talk of nothing leſs than New *Theories of the World* and *vaſt Fields of Knowledge*, buſying our ſelves in Natural Enquiries, and flattering our ſelves with the wonderful Diſcoveries and mighty Improvements that have been made in Humane Learning, a great part of which are purely imaginary, and at the ſame time neglecting the only true and ſolid and ſatisfactory Knowledge: Things that are obſcure and intricate we purſue with eagerneſs, whilſt Divine Truths are uſually diſregarded, only becauſe they are eaſie and common: Or if their be ſome of a higher nature, they ſhall poſſibly be rejected, becauſe they are above, or ſeemingly contrary to Reaſon, whilſt we admit ſeveral other things without ſcruple, which are not reconcileable with Revelation; tho Reveal'd Truths be certainly Divine, and the other, either no Truths at all, or at the beſt, only Humane. This ſort of Conduct is very preposterous, for after all, true Wiſdom and ſatisfactory Knowledge.

ledge, is only to be had from Revelation, and as to other Truths, which are to be collected from Senſe and Reaſon, our Ignorance of them will always be ſo much greater than our Knowledge, as there are a thouſand things we are ignorant of, to one thing that we throughly know.

FINIS.

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